INSIDE: Marc Garneau and Mission 41-G

Maclean's

OCTOBER 8, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPECIAL REPORT

HANGING



The charged debate over capital punishment

The mood inside the nation's prisons

The final hours on death row



CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

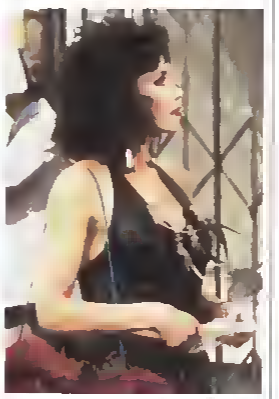
Maclean's

OCTOBER 8, 1984 VOL 97 NO 41



A rekindling of loyalties

Although views on the monarchy may be changing in Canada, enthusiastic crowds turned out to greet Queen Elizabeth last week as she began her 13-day tour —*Page 16*



Of guns and glamor

As pay TV and videocassettes lure away viewers, the three U S networks have responded by providing new shows that emphasize high fashion and violence —*Page 41*

COVER

The hanging debate

More than eight years after hanging for murder was abolished in law, and almost 22 years after the last executions, the issue of capital punishment is once again sparking emotions and angry debate across the country. Pressure mounts on the new Tory government for a free vote on the restoration of state-sanctioned killing —*Page 48*

COVER PHOTO BY DEREK CASE



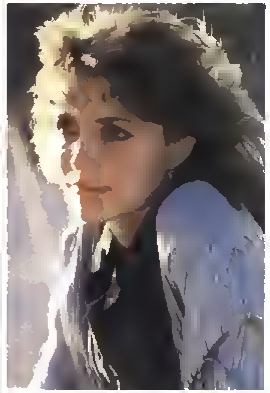
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Countdown for a Canadian

One year ago Marc Garneau answered a "help wanted" advertisement for astronauts and this week he will become the first Canadian to ride into space —*Page 44*



No mere damsel in distress

American actress Karen Allen, famous as the spirited Marion Ravenwood in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, is playing a tourist stranded in Paris in *Until September*. —*Page 28*



The deadly debate

The unspeakable brutality involved in the premeditated killing of a fellow human being is the prime motivation for the sudden increase in demands for the restoration of capital punishment in Canada. It is also the most compelling argument against it. For centuries philosophers, moralists, politicians, clerics, jurists and civilized people everywhere have struggled to resolve that contradiction. They have never managed to do so successfully. And in Canada, which abolished capital punishment in 1976 and which has not had a hanging since 1962, the pressure to return to the death penalty has never been greater, as this week's cover story makes clear.

It is difficult at times to decipher the real objectives of such organizations as the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, which is lobbying hard in favor of restoring hanging. There is no clear evidence that murder by the state serves as a deterrent to the horror of murder by individuals. And if simple state-sanctioned revenge is the main driving force behind the new campaign—an understandable emotion for those whose lives have been tragically brushed by a murder, a brutal rape or both—then logic no longer plays a part in the debate. In that case, there would be no need to limit the penalty to hanging. Indeed, a punishment more suited to capital crimes would be the one for traitors favored in 16th-century Britain: the condemned man was first hanged, then cut down while still alive and disemboweled so that his innards could be burned before his eyes. Then he was decapitated and quartered.

At the same time, capital punishment tends to be a relatively facile concept for many people to support because those who would suffer the ultimate penalty tend to be social rejects, underprivileged and unattractive—a minority by definition.

Capital punishment is simply not consistent with our self-respect. Our sense of decency should dictate the end to the debate.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's Oct. 8, 1984

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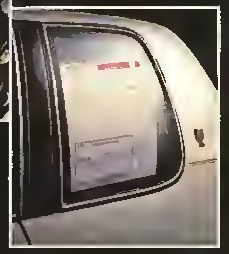
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LETTERS

Apology

In the Sept 24 issue *Maclean's* carried an article on Dr Patrick McGeer, the minister of universities of British Columbia *Maclean's* has been informed that Dr McGeer owns his own grass tennis court. Dr McGeer did not authorize payment from UBC for the purchase of tennis courts and was not in a position to do so *Maclean's* apologizes to Dr McGeer and regrets any implications the article may have raised

Message, meaning

The coverage of the papal visit was terrific ("A papal message and the meaning," Canada/Cover, Sept 24) However, in the article you referred to the Virgin Mary as "an object of worship" This is completely erroneous and damaging in its wording Catholics believe worship and adoration is to be given to God alone The Virgin is esteemed, loved and venerated because of her own total worship of God and for her willing role in God's plan for Redemption when she agreed to be the Mother of His Son I personally believe that if God chose her for special attention, so can I

—LILLIAN JESTY,
Scarborough, Ont.

It is a testimony to the personal magnetism of the Pope, or evidence of George Orwell's "doublethink," that the pontiff is able to condemn any form of conception control—even abstention with intent—and yet maintain that celibacy



Pope John Paul II: 'doublethink'

(total prevention) is at the core of spiritual life How can he judge those who prevent birth with their lifestyles when he achieves the same result with his own?

—TONY HANIK,
Toronto

Maclean's makes a big deal out of the CBC coverage of the papal visit ("Communion with cameras," Special Report, Sept 10) The $12-million cost of this coverage would be money well spent if it served to lift the country out of its current mood indigo by focusing on the Pope's message of faith Instead, the CBC subjected us to the tedious divagations of soreheads whose "quarrels" with the Pope cannot be of interest to anyone but themselves

—M B GLENNON,
Saskatoon

Lest we forget

I was born in the United States and lived there when Richard Nixon was president. Allan Fotheringham's knowledgeable column in the Aug 20 issue, concerning Nixon's attitude toward the dignity of the office of president, was excellent Nixon showed his "colors" when he lost the debate with John Kennedy when both men were running for president His later comment that the reporters wouldn't have him to kick around anymore showed his spoilsport nature He is being supported by the taxpayers of the United States and he lives in luxury, enjoying comforts that, because of his action and deceit, should have been withheld from him Nixon hopes to come back and take part in the government again, but I sincerely hope people will remember

—P E PUGH,
Saskatchewan

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PASSAGES

DIED: Hollywood movie actor **Walter Pidgeon**, 87, best-known for eight films in which he teamed up with **Greer Garson**, including *Mrs. Miniver* and *Madame Curie*; after suffering a series of strokes and kidney failure, at St John's Hospital in Santa Monica, Calif Born in Saint John, N B, Pidgeon began his career as a singer in a Boston stock company He went on to Hollywood in 1926, where he became a silent screen actor In 1937, after a brief return to the stage, he was one of the few performers to make a successful transition into "talkies"—joining the MGM studio During his long career Pidgeon also starred with such greats as **Jean Harlow**, in *Saratoga*, **Ginger Rogers**, in *Weekend at the Waldorf*, and **Rosalind Russell**, in *Design for Scandal*

APPOINTED: **Peter Kent**, 41, high-profile Canadian television journalist, as correspondent for the Caribbean and Central America for NBC TV Kent, a former CBC newsreader and NBC correspondent in South Africa, was the first journalist to be assigned to the CBC current affairs program, *The Journal* He led a special investigative unit on the show, which he said he is leaving for personal reasons

AILING: former Newfoundland premier and only living Canadian Father of Confederation **Joey Smallwood**, 83, after suffering a stroke on Sept 24, in St John's Health Science Centre Smallwood is suffering from loss of speech and paralysis in the right side as a result of the stroke The outspoken politician, who brought Newfoundland into Confederation in 1949, had been working on the third volume of his proposed five-volume *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland*, a project he conceived 20 years ago but one that has had financial problems

DIED: former United States diplomat **Ellsworth Bunker**, 90, who served as ambassador to South Vietnam from 1967 to 1973 at the height of the Vietnam War; after suffering from a viral infection, in Brattleboro Memorial Hospital, Vt. Bunker served under four U.S. presidents in his three-decade-long career, which included the post of ambassador to India between 1956 and 1961. He was appointed ambassador to Vietnam by President **Lyndon Johnson**. Bunker earned the nickname of Mr Refrigerator for maintaining his calm and cool under pressure during negotiations for major international agreements such as the Panama Canal Treaty, which returned sovereignty of the canal to Panama and which took more than four years to finalize, and the Vietnam peace treaties



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Brightness and the bomb

Derrick de Kerckhove's assertion that the nuclear bomb "is a force for good because it unites people against the use of its explosive power" is an interesting but very risky idea ("The bright side of the nuclear bomb," Ideas, Aug 27) De Kerckhove's picture might be "brightened" still further as scientists learn more about the effects of massive disturbances in the atmosphere According to recent calculations published by scientists at the U S National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colo , atmospheric contamination caused by nuclear detonations in the Northern Hemisphere would quickly spread to the Southern Hemisphere as well No inhabitable place on earth would be spared from the negative effects In the spirit of de Kerckhove's idea, perhaps this is the kind of scientific knowledge that will help mobilize remedial action Somehow, with governments supporting nuclear arms in defiance of popular opinion, I do not feel relieved by de Kerckhove's good news.

—GORDON FEARN,
Edmonton

I was struck by the similarities between Derrick de Kerckhove's novel views of the bomb and the United States' Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif's theory of human groups—namely, the first essential of group formation As those social psychologists demonstrated in their studies, the first essential of group formation is for individuals in proximity to possess a similar motivational basis that cannot be achieved without group effort and interaction Individuals uniting against the bomb's destructive powers would seem to fulfil those criteria nicely As for de Kerckhove's prediction that, once united, individuals will pursue other collaborated efforts apart from the antibomb movement, Sherif and Sherif have already shown how new goals emerge to further bind group members It seems to me that de Kerckhove is not proposing a new step up the evolutionary ladder but the formation of a group that will include citizens of the world united by technology and common fears Perhaps he should reassure and encourage such activists as Operation Dismantle president James Stark, because, as Sherif and Sherif have demonstrated, a common goal is not enough Individuals must act together before they satisfy the first essential of group formation, which may lead to the world state de Kerckhove describes.

—GERIANNE M ALEXANDER,
Montreal



Reagan: acceptance on faith alone

A morbid balance

Regarding "Renewed calls for the noose" (Canada, Sept 10) although I am morally opposed to capital punishment, my position has caused me more anguish than the lack of deterrent our present penal system provides to would-be killers of our police and prison guards You seem to compare the deaths of police and guards on duty with those of criminals shot during the commission of their crimes, as if some sort of morbid balance should equate the two That view represents a callous disregard for the lives of men and women who are asked on a daily basis to deal with the criminal element in our society

—IAN MCKAY,
Dartmouth, N.S.

A wrongful reference

We are mystified by the reference you made to "factory owners" in the U S S R reported to be rejecting Soviet high-technology robots ("A mysterious disappearance," World, Sept 10) Is knowledge of the facts of Soviet life so abysmally scanty and distorted that it needs to be pointed out that there is no such thing as a factory owner in the U S S R?

—DAVID LEVY,
Director,
The Sakharov Institute,
Vancouver

Militarization vs. welfare

The article "Reagan, ready on the right" (World, Sept 3) catches the feelings of the American public very well During the past three months, which were spent in the United States, I noticed a dramatic split in the voters Their reasons were conveyed in both newspaper articles and in Letters to the Editor The writings of the right-wing voters resemble those of religious fanatics and indicate they will

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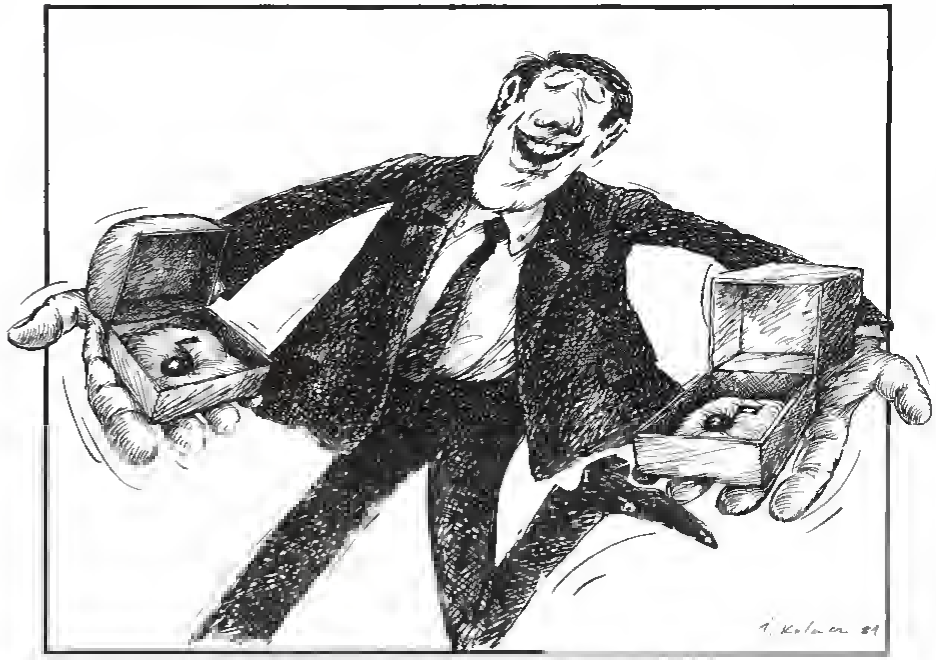
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accept Ronald Reagan's statements on faith alone. The remaining voters, independent of their political leanings, refuse to vote for Reagan. They cite the record and policies of his administration as reasons for not voting Republican. The emphasis on defence spending is a major fault according to this group. I am surprised, however, that no one has suggested that the defence spending represents the largest social program in the Western world. Considering how dependent the American economy is on the defence funds and the number of people employed through the military, it seems obvious that the militarization is really an alternative welfare scheme.

—PETER ZAHREDKA
Val Therese, Ont.

Setting different records

Now that U.S. nationalistic fervor over the Olympics has at last diminished to manageable proportions, it is time to set the record straight. The only meaningful way of evaluating a nation's Olympic performance is to determine the number of medals won per capita. How else can the athletic programs of Monaco or Panama ever be fairly rated against those of population giants such as the United States or the Soviet Union? The result? In the 1984 Olympics the United States, with its vaunted 83 gold medals, falls to sixth place. Canada moves up to fifth place from sixth. And the winner, with the most gold medals per capita, is New Zealand.

—REX EATON,
Surrey, B.C.

A Cornwall loyalist

Regarding "Celebrating the Loyalists" (History, Aug. 13), you state that 10,000 Loyalists settled in present-day Quebec and Ontario. The map, however, only shows them going to the Niagara Peninsula, Kingston area and Quebec. It completely neglects the fact that some 1,500 Loyalists settled in modern eastern Ontario, around New Johnstown (now Cornwall) after June, 1784. That omission is particularly glaring because New Johnstown was one of the largest settlements and was founded by the followers of Sir John Johnson, a leading American Tory. It is, however, not surprising that a Toronto-based publication missed us because even the Ontario government refused to believe the historical documentation and claimed in its initial bicentennial literature that Cornwall was only 150 years old.

—IAN BOWERING,
Co-ordinator, Cornwall Bicentennial, Cornwall, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont., M5W 1A7.



A time of crisis for Moslem pilgrims

By Robin Wright

For 14 centuries Moslems from many parts of the world have travelled by camel and boat, and now by giant jetliner, to the Saudi Arabian holy cities of Mecca and Medina to fulfil one of the five pillars of Islam —proof of devotion to God. Haj, as Arabs call the pilgrimage, is now the largest multinational massing of humanity in the world. An average of two million men and women, dressed in traditional white robes, carry out the rite that the Koran, the Moslem holy book, decreed in the seventh century. Last month pilgrims from 114 countries, from the cold steppes of the Soviet Union to the rain forests of Indonesia, and from the slums of Bangladesh to the palaces of Persian Gulf sheikdoms, made the visit. But the most pious and traditionally peaceful event in the Islamic calendar has increasingly become an occasion for politics, demonstrations and rioting. Said one Islamic scholar: "Haj remains a time of totel reverence. But for a few it is now being used as a time to foment dissent within Islam."

The disruptions began after the 1979 Iranian revolution, in which Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini overthrew the shah, and they have enlarged a crisis within Islam in which fundamentelists and absolutists—extremist fundamentalist clerics—challenge the religious and political course of moderate Moslems. As well, the Shi'ite minority is rivalling the traditional mainstream Sunni leadership of the Islamic world. The issue is not simply piety—whether or not women wear the veil or businesses close during the five daily calls to prayer —but the orientation and priorities in a Moslem's life. In Islam, unlike the world's other monotheistic religions, including Roman Catholicism and Judaism, politics and religion are theoretically the same. The challenge from the wave of fundamentalism that is sweeping the Moslem world is to embrace again their traditional political and cultural forms, rather than those of non-Islamic groups.

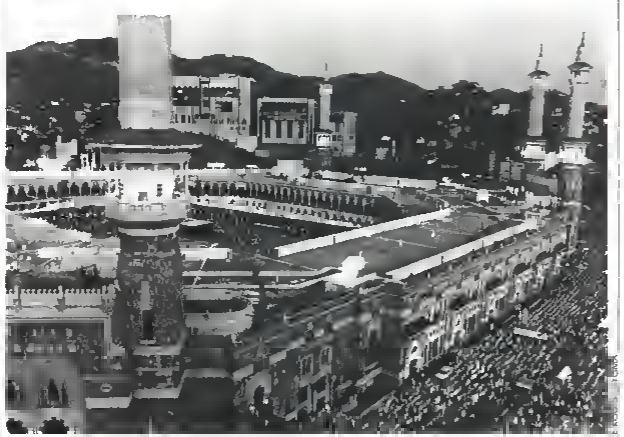
The Islamic world has a vigorous history of internal intellectual debate. Still, the travel and technology of the 20th century have made the current trend the most serious since the crisis over leadership that followed Mohammed's death in 632. That caused Islam's biggest schism—the rift which created the Shi'ite and Sunni sects. The debate, once largely confined to the religious elite, is now carried on at all levels by means of modern communications. As well, today's weaponry has made it the most threatening, and Haj has become a focal point for the challenge.

The potential dangers became apparent earlier this year. On Aug. 18 customs officials in the western Saudi Arabian city of Jeddah became suspicious when leaders on a charter flight of Libyan pilgrims refused to allow a search of luggage or crates marked with diplomatic seals. Disregarding the Libyans' claim of diplomatic immunity, the Saudi officials uncovered a large quantity of arms and ordered the aircraft home. Three days later the Saudi Arabian navy escorted a Libyan ship out of Saudi waters when officers found weapons in diplomatic baggage. There was no official explanation of the arms' destination, but the Saudis are constantly concerned that the enormous Haj crowds might harbor terrorists. The memories of a 1979 Shi'ite fundamentalist takeover of Mecca's Grand Mosque—the world's largest Islamic shrine—are all too painful. Saudi troops took four days to regain control, and 255 people died in the gunfire.

Since that bloody incident the Saudis have maintained a high state of vigilance as each Haj approached. And the nation's status as last month's event drew near underlined the sense of apprehension. Off the country's eastern shores, Iraqi warplanes attacked the 41st oil tanker in a campaign of calculated destruction that began in March, an overspill of the four-year Gulf War between Iran and Iraq near the Saudis' northern border. A territorial dispute triggered that protracted war, pitting the Shi'ite fanatics of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the secular and socialist regime of Sunni-dominated Iraq.

The war has since taken on a more ideological aspect. The Saudis became deeply concerned over the mysterious Red Sea mines that endangered their only other sea link with the outside world—Egypt—and the route of thousands of pilgrims. The 133,000 Egyptian pilgrims did make up the second-largest Haj delegation after Iran, but only because many decided to fly rather than cross the narrow sea passage. The two main suspects behind the mining—Iran and Libya—are both militant regimes with a history of sharp verbal attacks against the Saudi monarchy.

During this year's event, which began on Aug. 30 and ended on Sept. 5 with a spectacular feast at the foot of Mount Arafat, Saudi King Fahd called for an end to the Gulf War and the general tension in the Moslem world when he appealed, "Let us turn to all belligerents with a sincere, urgent call to spare blood, lay down arms, spurn differences and let logic and reason prevail." Still, it will take more than Fahd's exhortations to end a conflict that has set the armies of Iran and Iraq at each other's throats for four bloody years.



Mecca's Grand Mosque: a painful reminder of a 1979 clash that left 255 people dead





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Q&A: SAMUEL I. HAYAKAWA

An English-only crusade



Hayakawa: If language is politicized, the easy relationship between people goes

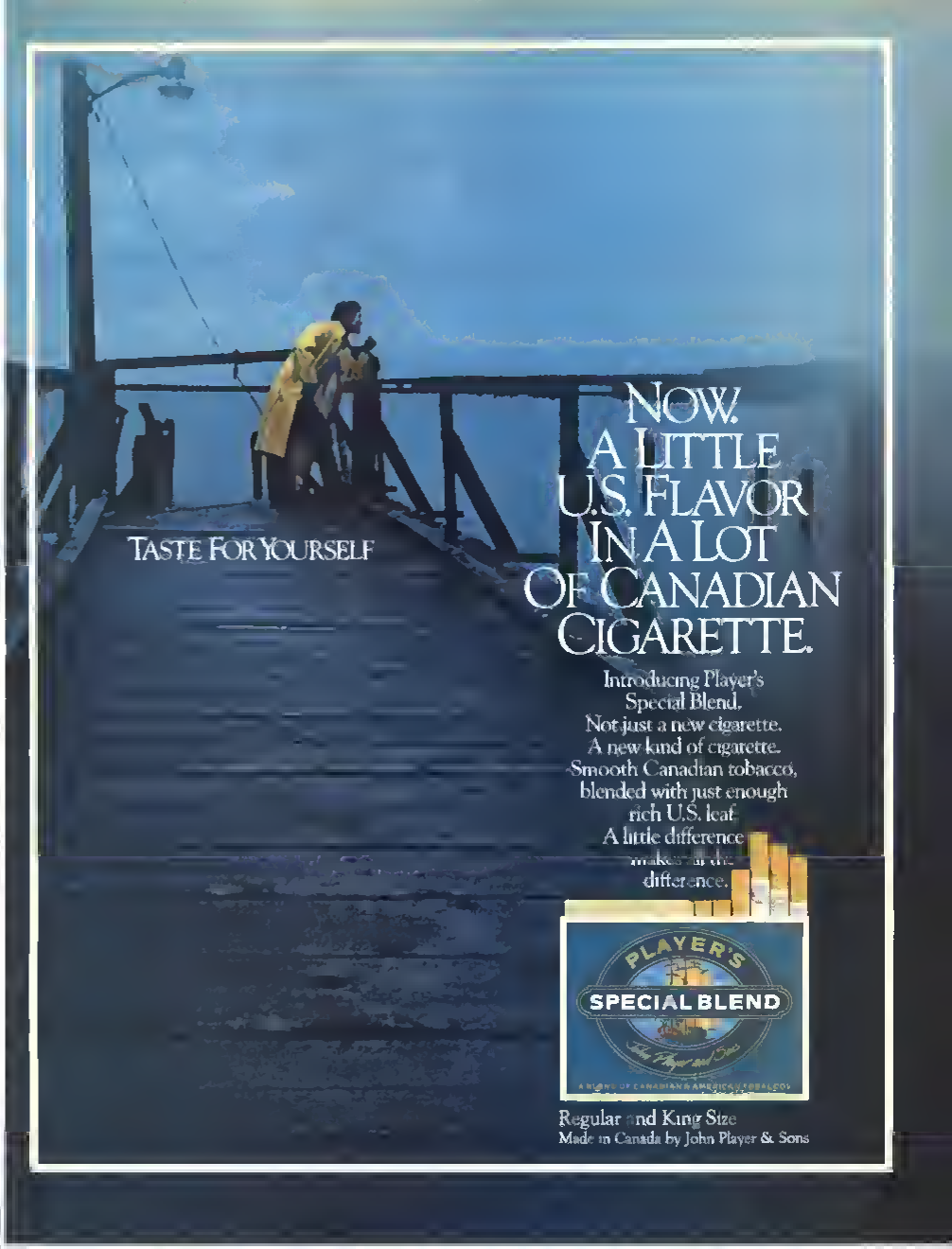
Vancouver-born Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa, a world-renowned expert on semantics, became a hero of the American right in the 1960s when, as president of San Francisco State University, he helped crush student riots. In 1976 he won a seat as a California Republican in the U.S. Senate and served for six years, although he was criticized for occasionally falling asleep during sessions. Since he retired in 1982 to a San Francisco suburb, Hayakawa, 78, has been actively campaigning for an end to bilingual ballots, as well as opposing the concept of bilingual education, which he says he fears would lead to Americans finding themselves "in a situation like the province of Quebec." Hayakawa has been vigorously supporting a campaign to establish English "as the official language of the United States." Maclean's correspondent Herb Michelson talked with Hayakawa in San Francisco.

Maclean's: *What is your perception of the evolution of bilingual politics in Quebec?*

Hayakawa: The French there, in a way, were doing what a lot of minorities were doing in the United States. Do not forget the tremendous impact of the Negro civil rights movement in the United States. Everybody started imitating Negroes. French Canadians, Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, American Indians. Look what they all did. The Negroes wanted to stop being called Negroes and wanted to be called blacks. Orientals wanted to be called Asians. The Indians wanted to be called Native Americans. They all started making demands. I saw that happening at San Francisco State. And it shocks me that French Canadians, reasonably far away from the Negro civil rights movement, would imitate the same methods, the same rhetoric, to demand French Canadian rights. What I call to people's attention—and people are horrified that I am comparing everybody to Negroes—is that similarity in rhetoric and behavior. You see Japanese-American students at the University of California [Los Angeles] calling each other 'brother' and 'sister' and shaking their fists and saying, 'Right on.' And I am told that Canadian [bilingual movement] rhetoric is much the same kind.

Maclean's: *What is the basis of your notion that bilingualism in the States might produce a separatist movement?*

Hayakawa: Once language differences become politicized, as they have in Belgium, Sri Lanka and Canada, and as is beginning to happen in the United States, then the easy relationship between people who speak different languages—the sort of relationship that exists in Switzerland—can disappear. Switzerland points the way to all of us. There they speak at least four languages, but they leave each other alone.



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They learn what languages are necessary in making a living. The great secret there is that they do not make a political issue out of language differences. But if the Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka start making a political issue over their grievances against the Sinhalese-speaking majority, that political movement can lead to a separate state.

Maclean's: *Is your campaign for English-only ballots, for establishment of English as the official language of the United States, simply a movement to create a homogenous society?*

Hayakawa: No. I am just against having any official second language. Unofficially, you can use any damned language you like. At religious services, family getherings, ethnic picnics, crap gemes, mah-jongg—as long as it does not have official sanction.

Maclean's: *Are you saying flatly that bureaucracy should not get itself involved with language?*

Hayakawa: I do not see how it can help getting involved—in practical ways, such as driving licence tests, for example. Those tests are given to ensure that we have safe drivers. Notice that more and more we put up traffic signs that use symbols instead of language. Is it not better to have your non-English-speaking driver know the laws in whatever language he understands rather than not know the laws at all? Bilingualism is simply common sense when it comes to matters of public safety and convenience.

Maclean's: *But once you open the door of bilingualism to practical matters, how do you close it when the Spanish-speaking driver's licence examinee wants everything else, including the ballot, printed in Spanish?*

Hayakawa: Do not forget that the naturalization laws of the United States require that you learn to read, write and speak English in ordinary usage. That requirement is right there in the law. You must fulfil it to become an American citizen. But then if the government goes ahead and publishes voting instructions and ballots in another language, you are not treating everybody as American citizens—especially those voters who went to a lot of trouble to learn English, to become naturalized.

Maclean's: *Do your critics not feel that you, as a person of Japanese heritage and therefore in a minority, have betrayed all minorities, other ethnics?*

Hayakawa: Certainly, some Japanese feel that way. But my record shows that from 1942 to 1947, while I was teaching English at a college in Chicago, I wrote a weekly column for a black newspaper in which I opposed segregation, which was not always good for your professional health in those days.

Maclean's: *Is your strong English-only position based on the fact that semantics has been your life's work?*

Hayakawa: It probably is. But there is one other thing. What is miraculous about the United States is that there are all these immigrants speaking all these foreign languages who came to this country and created a society in which all these nationalities in the next generation are represented in our Congress. It is not as if a few people of Scottish, English and Irish origin are the ruling class of this country. If you read the rollcall of the U.S. Senate alone, you will find it includes names of, essentially, foreigners. That is what makes for the uniqueness of our culture. Because we have this line of communication with our [English] language, we absorb what every other culture brings to our civilization.

Maclean's: *With such vast numbers of Hispanics now living in California, is it not perhaps too late to insist on English-only ballots?*

Hayakawa: It is easier to attempt to do that now than it will be 10 years from now. Sure, it would have been easier to try to do it 20 years ago. But it will be a lot harder to do 20 years from now. So you have to try while you still can ✪

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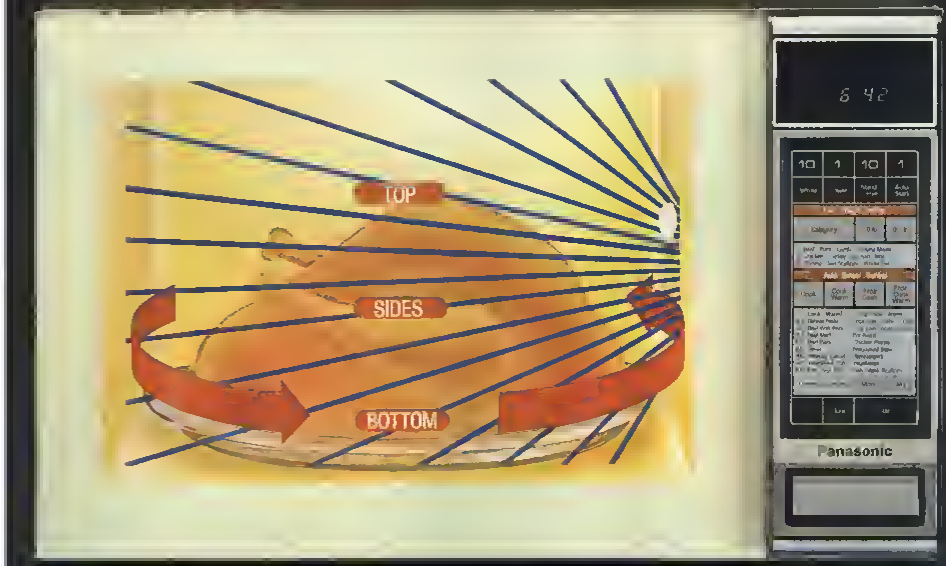
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FOLLOW-UP

A blooming drug trade

Since the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) mounted a campaign in seven states three years ago to try to eradicate the United States' illegal marijuana crop, the agency's operation has grown in scope and intensity. It now embraces 48 states and faces a new element which is particularly worrying to the authorities: the increasingly violent and dangerous tactics that growers of illegal marijuana are using to defend their crop, which, according to the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), will reap $15 billion this year and make it the second most valuable crop in the United States. NORML estimates that the marijuana crop will bring in only slightly less than corn. DEA officials admit that NORML's figures are "probably in the ball park." And Thomas Byrne, chief of the DEA's marijuana investigation section in Washington, fears that the DEA may be losing the battle. Said Byrne: "Although I think we are moving in the right direction, maybe they are winning."



Spikad trap guarding a lucrative crop

For the past eight weeks, 4,000 law enforcement officials, armed with shotguns and scythes, have been trying to destroy as many plants as they can before the growers can get them to market. But the DEA, whose funding for the operation has grown to $2.5 million from $500,000 in 1981, readily admits that it can locate only about 15 per cent of the crop. Says Byrne of the DEA: "There is no question it is being grown with increasing expertise. We are having a difficult time keeping up."

The increase in funding has enabled the DEA to make greater use of helicopters in an effort to eradicate the crops, which are bright green and distinctive enough to be visible from the air. The pilots radio the location of the crops to ground teams that destroy the plants. But with millions of dollars at stake, the growers have armed themselves with automatic rifles. Said helicopter pilot Michael Dover, a Vietnam veteran who now flies missions over Tennessee's Great Smoky Mountains: "It scares the hell out of me. I never start a day without wondering if I will be taken down by gunfire. I am convinced it will happen someday."

Because local police forces now have farms and fields in rural areas—and even suburban gardens—under regular surveillance, marijuana growers frequently site their "plantations" in such remote government-owned wilderness areas as the Tennessee forests and Humboldt County in Northern California. Explained Douglas MacCleery, deputy assistant secretary at the U.S. department of agriculture: "It is really quite a complex business. The growers carry in big rubber containers to act as reservoirs and develop a system of pipes to irrigate every plant. They return to the area regularly to tend to their plants." When harvest time approaches, the growers camp out full time to protect their investment not only from government agents but also from marijuana poachers or simply hikers.

According to MacCleery, the growers are "desperate people who have a lot of money at stake." The forest service has had reports from almost every state of hikers wandering through the forest and suddenly coming across man armed with automatic weapons, looking very much like guerrilla fighters. Said MacCleery: "Sometimes they fire warning shots and sometimes they just issue threats to the backpackers to get out of the area quickly."

When the growers leave their crops they often conceal booby traps. Forest rangers have found trip wires attached to shotguns and even wires tied to hand grenades. As well, the growers lay out traps designed to puncture victims' feet with six-inch nails and they hang fish hooks at eye level from trees. So far, no one has died or been seriously injured.



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Warned MacCleery. "Obviously, it is just a matter of time."

U.S.-grown marijuana now ranks among the best in the world. Kevin Zeese, the national director of NORML, says that is because U.S. growers have vastly improved cultivation in the past few years. They have developed a way of growing only the female plants, called sensimilla marijuana, which are considered superior in potency. According to Zeese, the growers are now working on faster-growing marijuana to try to beat the law enforcement efforts. Said Zeese: "This high-quality American-grown stuff is selling from $125 an ounce up to $250 an ounce," more than double the price of lower-quality marijuana.

NORML claims that if the government passed legislation to make marijuana use legal, a cigarette-sized "joint" could sell for $1.50 and could raise $15 billion a year in taxes. Said Zeese: "I have no doubt that it will eventually be made legal. There are 30 million marijuana users in the United States, and Oregon will hold a vote on legalizing marijuana this November. The polls there show it is going to be close."

Humboldt County, Calif., may be the most concentrated growing area in the United States. The DEA believes Humboldt's crop alone could be worth $1.5 billion. Said William Ruzzamenti, deputy commander of the DEA's task force in the county: "The old perception was that the grower of marijuana was a counter-culture misfit, but we are finding more and more convicted felons in the business." The county used to average three murders a year. Last year there were 18. Campaign Against Marijuana Planting, a 70-agency effort aimed at eradicating California's marijuana crop, has, with the backing of the state and the federal attorney general's office, been pushing for prosecutions under tax laws instead of under the relatively lax laws covering marijuana cultivation. It is pressing for measures that will permit asset forfeiture, allowing the federal government to seize land, equipment and any profits acquired through the sale of illegal cultivation.

A single plant of more than six feet tall can produce $500 to $2,000 for a grower, depending on its quality. Last month William Holt, 56, who is serving a 40-year sentence in Tennessee regional prison after officials three times caught him growing marijuana by the fieldfull, declared from his cell: "It is no trouble to make $100,000 a year just messing with a little marijuana. The only problem comes when you get caught." While it is certain that the authorities will jail more growers, the profits are so high and the crop so marketable that others will doubtless carry on the multibillion-dollar industry.

—WILLIAM LOWTHER in *Washington*

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Bella Abzug's battles



Abzug, an abrasive manner that became a liability instead of an asset

Soon after Bella Abzug began her six years in the United States House of Representatives in 1970, her outspoken advocacy of women's issues, her gravelly New York accent and her combative manner combined to earn her the nickname "Battling Bella." Colleagues debated which was bigger: her wide-brimmed hats or her mouth. But as the confrontational politics of the Vietnam years ebbed, Abzug's abrasive manner became a liability. She lost races for the U.S. Senate and the mayoralty of New York, and failed in a 1978 comeback attempt for a seat as a Democrat in the House. Now, with the recent publication of her new book, *Gender Gap: Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women*, it is clear that although Abzug has lost her office, she retains her style.

The Abzug mouth is as formidable as ever. She labels President Ronald Reagan and his aides "cavemen in the White House" and calls former president Jimmy Carter, who fired her as co-chairman of the National Advisory Council for Women in 1979 because of the Council's criticism of his administration, the "cowardly lion." She attacks opponents of abortion who, she says, know "less about the uterus than they do about U-Haul," and even berates politicians who refer to the electorate as "fellow" Americans. All signs point to a Republican victory in November's presidential election, but in her book Abzug claims that Reagan will lose.

Abzug still heads Women U.S.A., an organization she founded five years ago to register more women to vote and to elect increased numbers of female officeholders. So far the group has been responsible for registering 15,000 women in New York state alone. Ironically, Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferrero, the woman most likely to benefit from Abzug's efforts, has publicly disagreed with Abzug over political tactics. When Abzug and other feminist leaders issued an ultimatum to Democratic members of Congress last year to accede to their women's agenda or face a boycott at the polls, Ferraro objected. Said Ferraro: "I felt it was a little strong." Still, Abzug claims that relations between herself and Ferraro are excellent.

A practising civil lawyer, Abzug, 64, is now fighting another battle—that of the bulge. After taking 50 lb. off her short, stocky frame five years ago, Abzug is back at the upper end of her traditional scale and says she is on a 1,000-calorie-a-day diet. Abzug, whose husband of nearly 40 years, Martin, is a New York stockbroker, says that the law and the lecture circuit keep her busy. Still, she admits nothing would suit her better than to gear up for another campaign. "Of course I would rather be in public office," she said. "I am a political person, and running for office is my most viable option. I am just looking for the right time and place."

—RITA CHRISTOPHER in *New York*

COLUMN

Why the Americans need Canada



By Dian Cohen

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has declared repeatedly, before, during and after his election campaign, that the United States is our "greatest friend and ally. Period." On Sept. 25, eight days after his swearing-in ceremony, our new Prime Minister was in Washington telling that message to President Ronald Reagan. Said Mulroney of his close regard for the United States: "This implies no subservience. It invites merely a degree of maturity and understanding that our trade and our technological advances hinge upon an excellent relationship, which my government and I will always work toward improving." The Prime Minister is right. His problem will be to convince the Americans of that. In the past three years the Reagan administration has allowed more restrictive trade measures than any administration since the 1930s; those include export embargoes on grain, oil and gas technologies, import quotas on cars, specialty steel and textiles, and tariffs on motorcycles.

Basking in the warm feelings of exemption from the United States' most recent quotas on steel imports, Canadians may miss the fact that they are going to have to work very hard to keep the trade doors open without giving away the store. There are two enormous barriers to good relations with the United States, one over which Canada has no control, the other over which it has some control.

What Canada has no control over is the fact that the United States has a trade deficit of $83.7 billion (U.S.). (By contrast, Canada has a trade surplus of $14 billion [Cdn.].) That means Americans are buying $83.7 billion (U.S.) more in goods from the rest of the world than they are selling to it. The trade deficit comes, in part, from the fact that the U.S. dollar is so expensive that other countries simply cannot afford to buy as many American goods.

Unhappily, the Reagan administration does not accept that reasoning as the cause of the U.S. trade deficit. Reagan's advisers believe the United States has a deficit because its trade restrictions are less severe than those of other countries. That has been the American position for years. Just as the Japanese, after the United States threatened them with unilateral cutbacks in 1981, "voluntarily" sat down and negotiated a quote system on cars sold in the United States, so steel exporters, mainly from Brazil, South Korea, Mexico, Spain and Japan, will sit down and "voluntarily" restrict their own exports to the United States.

Since the Reagan administration believes that U.S. exports are being restricted in the rest of the world, it feels justified in passing retaliatory protectionist legislation. On Sept. 20 the U.S. Senate approved a bill extending presidential authority to retaliate against restrictive practices in international trade. The vote was unanimous. The House of Representatives has passed similar legislation.

Because Canada is part of the "rest of the world," that kind of legislation is directed against us as well as everyone else, unless we are specifically exempted by the Americans. Under those circumstances it is difficult not to be subservient. Which brings us to the barrier over which Canada has some control. Americans are unbelievably blind to their country's trade relationship with Canada. The United States does twice as much trade with Canada as it does with Japan. Still, president after president, including Ronald Reagan, has said that Japan is the United States' biggest customer. If Americans do not recognize how important we are to them, how can we expect them not to stomp on us?

> *'The United States is incredibly blind to the reality that Canada is its most valuable trading partner'*

According to Roy Cottier, senior vice-president of Northern Telecom Ltd. in Toronto, almost two million Americans are employed by industries that rely heavily on U.S. exports to Canada, and a further half-million Americans work in service industries linked to Canada. Cottier suggests that we begin a massive communications program, "working through the media, unions, business and the universities to acquaint Americans, and particularly congressional and state legislators, with the scale of economic interdependence of the two countries. The message: Canada means jobs in the United States for Americans."

That is certainly not a bad idea, and it may very well have been in the Prime Minister's mind when he told a *Time* magazine reporter the morning after his election, "If I were the president, I would wake up every morning and say 'Thank God for Canada. Now, what can I do for Canada?' "

The Senate bill that authorizes the president to "suspend, withdraw, or modify trade agreement concessions or impose duties or other import restrictions or fees on the products or services of a foreign country" has another important clause. It authorizes the negotiation of trade agreements with Israel and Canada to reduce or eliminate tariffs and other trade barriers.

It was on the basis of that bill that U.S. Trade Representative William Brock invited Canadians into discussions on a free trade agreement Sept. 21. Such an agreement could solve a lot of problems. Canada is one of the few industrialized countries in the world that does not have a secure trading bloc of at least 100 million people. Free trade would undoubtedly lift the threat to Canada presented by the 800-odd trade-related bills that will come before this Congress and most likely the next one after this November's U.S. elections. It presumably will allow Canadian ships, now excluded under the 1920 U.S. Jones Act (which restricts the transportation of goods on U.S. waterways to U.S.-built and registered vessels), to trade between American ports. It may exempt, and then again it may not, Canadian industries from legislation in the 46 states that have "buy American" purchasing preference policies.

Still, free trade leaves some unanswered questions, the biggest of which is the fate of international trade in general. What happens to the Third World debtor countries that have managed to stay afloat through austerity at home through the sale of an abundance of cheap goods abroad? If the United States restricts the import of those countries' goods, the Third World debt crisis would return with a vengeance. If that were to happen, that worsened debt would become a problem for both the United States and Canada. Another question is what, exactly, free trade would cost Canada. Almost everything we have or can make can be bought somewhere else. Almost everything, except our water.

Mulroney is on the right track in saying our trade and technological advances hinge on a good relationship with the States. The trick will be for him to pull off such good-neighborliness.

Dian Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.

Chumming across the border

By Marci Macdonald

In the Oval Office they bantered about electioneering and pondered arms control. Over pheasant consommé and sea bass in the Family Dining Room, they swapped stories about Irish priests, complete with accents, before launching into their shared obsession: how to trim government bureaucracy. By the time they emerged from the south portico of the White House 105 minutes later, it was clear that in only his eighth day in office, Brian Mulroney—the Prime Minister who President Ronald Reagan chummily dubbed "the other North American Irishman"—had already made good his campaign vow to usher in a new dawn of "superb relations" across the 49th parallel.

Reagan administration officials, who encouraged Mulroney's visit as part of the president's week-long foreign policy media blitz, were left praising the personal chemistry between the two leaders. And after four other top members of the U.S. cabinet followed Reagan's lead and hooked dates with their Canadian counterparts over the next two weeks, Mulroney aides jubilantly predicted a new wave of American investment that would help jolt the Canadian economy out of its doldrums.

But as the Prime Minister returned to Ottawa with a painful ear infection, not all the reviews of his 18-hour trip to Canada's largest trading partner were equally comforting. Acerbic ABC-TV news commentator Sam Donaldson said that in public the Prime Minister looked nervous and ungainly beside Reagan. Said Donaldson: "He doesn't seem to know what to do with his hands." (Mulroney aides later blamed that on the fact that the Prime Minister only stopped smoking before the election campaign.) More seriously, some Canadian commentators wondered what good would be gained from chemistry and clichés in dealing with such long-standing points of contention as acid rain, North Dakota's controversial Garrison water project, fishing rights and cost sharing for a new defence alert system across the Arctic. Said political pollster Alan Frizzell of Ottawa's Carleton University: "The rhetoric is terrific, but it's purely rhetoric. The problems are just too big and they aren't going to go away."

Others cautioned that Canada could end up paying too high a price for the new over-the-border coziness. Indeed, at the very moment Mulroney was offering Reagan private assurances about Canada's new openness to U.S. capital, Canadian International Trade Minister James Kelleher was announcing to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Toronto that the government would change the two most irksome thorns in Washington's side. The government will move away from incentive grants for petroleum exploration that discriminated against non-Canadian firms, and the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA), will be transformed into a boosterish capital magnet renamed Investment Canada. Declared University of Toronto political economist Stephen Clarkson: "It's kind of like signing a blank cheque very quickly—not a very effective negotiating technique."

Clarkson and other critics also pointed to the potential dangers of embracing a regime whose policies on Central America and the Soviet Union are rejected by many Canadians. Indeed, delivering an address beside Reagan in the Roosevelt Room of the White House to honor Canadian astronaut Marc Garneau's participation in this week's space shuttle, the Prime Minister showed that he was acutely aware of that trap. He pointedly noted that a refurbished friendship with the White House "implies no subservience." While the tone of Mulroney's Washington visit was greeted with overwhelming approval in Canadian business circles, nationalists were quick to condemn the implications of too close a Canadian-U.S. embrace. "If you look at Mulroney's track record," declared Ontario New Democratic Party Leader Robert Rae, "you see that he served as a branch plant president (for the U.S.-owned Iron Ore Co. of Canada). That was his whole training, and I'm afraid that is his perception of the whole country."



Reagan and Mulroney: consommé, camaraderie, clichés and chemistry galore

But some Canadians were willing to put other concerns aside if a closer relation with the United States can help to produce a stronger Canadian economy. "Ten years ago I was a rampant nationalist," admitted Selena Dack, a Toronto communications co-ordinator and single parent. "But I'm thinking of my kid now. If the relationship between Mulroney and Reagan invites more money and more branch plants, we can get people some jobs."

In the meantime, a Canadian voice that differed in some respects from Mulroney's was heard when External Affaire Minister Joe Clark addressed the United Nations General Assembly in New York on the day Mulroney was at the White House. Clark reaffirmed Canada's traditional role in global affairs as moderator and conciliator. "We have no corner on moral authority or technical expertise," declared Clark, "but we do enjoy a reputation as a people who are serious and skilled at mediation." He went on to praise Reagan's own plea to the UN—which the U.S. president followed up in talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (page 20)—for better communication between the superpowers. But Clark also spoke in favor of several international initiatives that have been stubbornly resisted in Washington, including greater progress on a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and superpower negotiations to ban weapons in outer space. Observed John Lamb, executive director of the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament in Ottawa: "I wonder if there isn't a fundamental tension between Mulroney's broad brush on Canada-U.S. relations and Canada's capacity to press the United States on specific issues such as arms control."

One unexpected aspect of the simultaneous visits to the United States by Mulroney and Clark—the timing set off speculation in Ottawa that Mulroney had tried to steal the spotlight from Clark's UN speech—was that it was Clark who rated a headline in *The New York Times*, not Mulroney. That, in turn, may have disappointed members of the White House re-election machine, who had hoped to make more political profit out of showing Reagan with a dashing Canadian who beamed from the cover of *Time* magazine only weeks before. But, while Mulroney's visit received slight attention in the American media, his wife, Mila, rated lead mention in *The Washington Post* social columns. The *Post* reported that Mila, who had coffee with Nancy Reagan, had more in common with the First Lady than her wardrobe: both are doctor's daughters.

For their part, White House aides rated the visit as not only one of the most successful Reagan has had with a Canadian but as one of the best ever with a world leader. The president has managed easy relationships with only two other world figures, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and Japan's Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Confided one Washington official: "Now we've just established a third."



Clark: reaffirming traditional roles

But the enthusiasm over the Mulroney-Reagan chemistry and shared conservative values may have disguised the fact that there has been little change so far in fundamental U.S.-Canadian relations. Indeed, the earlier paralysing chill between the two countries had already moderated considerably since the Trudeau government began backing away two years ago from some of the toughest FIRA practices and softening the terms of the National Energy Program. Officials on both sides also insist that Reagan's personal antipathy toward Trudeau was exaggerated by the media. In fact, some observers contend that Mulroney could disappoint large segments of the Reagan administration and U.S. business community who expect him to be more conservative than he is. As pollster Frizzell told a startled audience at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies last week, "If you're looking for major shifts in Canada, you're not going to find them."

But other observers believed that the rapport between Mulroney and Reagan could carry considerable political weight. Charles Doran, director of the Canadian Studies and International Relations programs at Johns Hopkins, noted that "when bureaucrats know that top people are interested, they're going to push harder to get an issue through. When there are good relations at the top, they know it means the president is willing to go the extra mile." Some administration officials pointed out that Reagan has already done just that. A week before Mulroney's arrival, White House Trade Representative William Brock announced that Canada was exempt from U.S. steel import restrictions—although Congress could legislate a reversal of that decision.

But the real test of whether the camaraderie will have practical effects will come on such issues as acid rain and trade, where Reagan faces immense regional and protectionist sentiment in Congress to oppose Canadian interests. Conversely, the White House could fall out of love with Mulroney. Said Doran: "If he were unable to deliver in an area where he had made a strong promise—for example in energy policy—there would be disenchantment here."

For now, at least, Mulroney has chosen to put his relations with Washington on a footing that will provoke continuing criticism from Canadian nationalists. But the new Prime Minister is also a pragmatist who may not always find the Reagan administration as convenient an ally as it appeared to be as he basked in the diplomatic triumph of his first foreign outing since taking office. In fact, as he stood side by side with Reagan exchanging vows of neighborliness in the Roosevelt Room, he could well have found a cautionary omen in the painting on the apricot walls behind him. It was a portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, one of the American presidents that Canadians came to resent because, when it came to disputing the boundary between Alaska and Canada, he metamorphosed from a good neighbor into a bully.

With Terry Hargreaves in Washington, Carol Goar in Ottawa and Sterret Pope in New York.

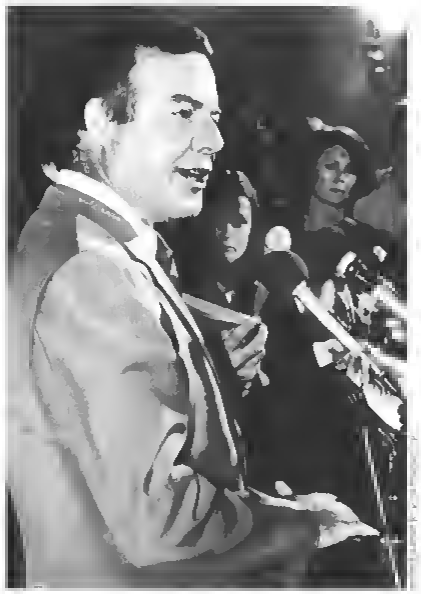
Setting a Tory style

By Carol Goar

Wearing matching blue sweaters, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Finance Minister Michael Wilson descended the stairs of the government's getaway Meech Lake meeting centre in the Gatineau Hills into a huddle of reporters awaiting news from an all-day planning session of the 15-member Conservative inner cabinet. Mulroney stepped to the microphone first, smiled engagingly and said it had been a fruitful session. He then left Wilson to announce that federal sales taxes on manufactured goods and building materials would go up by one percentage point this week, just as the former Liberal government had planned in the face of Conservative criticism. As Wilson began speaking—the Liberals, he said, had left the treasury cupboard bare—Mulroney slipped into his waiting car and drove off, leaving the spotlight exactly where he wanted it to be. The carefully planned and executed performance typified the young government's smoothly polished style.

Indeed, as the Mulroney administration slid through its first fortnight, the dominant visible features were its rigid control of information and a co-ordinated campaign to convince Canadians that the new government is working diligently to sort out a mess left by the Liberals. All government utterances had to be cleared in advance by the Prime Minister's Office. Policy statements emerged with metronome-like regularity, mostly accompanied by deploring comments on the sickly situation the Tories inherited. In measured sequence, sometimes with more style than substance, there were: Wilson's discovery that the country's financial situation was worse than he had anticipated; Defence Minister Robert Coates promising distinctive uniforms for each of the three branches of the Armed Forces; the dismantling of the money-losing Canadian Sports Pool Corp. and the Canadian Unity Information Office; Treasury Board President Robert René de Cotret imposing a partial spending freeze on federal departments; and Employment Minister Flora MacDonald pumping $250 million into winter jobs over the next two years.

Then, International Trade Minister James Kelleher proclaimed the passing of economic nationalism in a Toronto speech to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. With a supporting chorus of Mulroney and Wilson in Washington welcoming foreign investment, Kelleher excised any remnants of discrimination against alien money from the 10-year-old Foreign Investment Review Agency—rechristened Investment Canada—and the four-year-old National Energy Program. Said Bruce Doern, a professor in the School of Public Administration at Ottawa's Carleton University: "They know exactly what they're doing—spinning out their announcements two or three days apart, moving carefully but persistently. It's all designed to show they are in charge."



De Cotret, MacDonald: impression of controlled action

The strategy owes much to the American example—and sympathetic advice to Mulroney's staff from Ronald Reagan's Republican advisers. As far back as 18 months ago Peter Harder, a key member of Mulroney's transition team, established regular telephone contact with the Republican National Committee.



The Mulroney team's meticulous preparation paid off in the accident-free early running. The impression of a new regime in charge was enhanced by a series of Mulroney cameo appearances—paying fond farewells to Pope John Paul II, welcoming the Queen, hobnobbing with the president of the United States. It was capped by taking charge at his first prime ministerial press conference. Amid mutterings by journalists about secrecy and news management, he agreed to answer any questions. He fed out a bone of hard news—his invitation to provincial premiers to meet Nov. 13 and prepare for an economic planning conference. Then he stickhandled his way jovially through questions.

Still, the Mulroney strategy contains potential perils and contradictions. For one thing, it will be harder to hold a short rein on ministers after Parliament convenes Nov. 5 and they are grilled in daily question period and buttonholed by reporters. Frontbenchers such as Justice Minister John Crosbie are chafing under Mulroney's strictures. For another thing, the Tory cost-cutting theme contains a paradox: it costs more than it saves in the short run. Bureaucrats whose contracts are terminated are entitled to golden handshakes as hefty as two years pay—as much as $228,500 for a top administrator, about $140,000 for senior Sports Pool executives. Breaking a service contract brings penalties. The touchiest in the Liberal legacy is a 21-month contract with Canadian Media Corp., signed early in July, to handle federal advertising, which has been running at $45 million a year. Supply and Services Minister Harvie Andre may legally kill the deal, but only by paying a penalty reputed to be generous.

As such realities sink in, the Mulroney group may well discover—as Reagan has, with a burgeoning budget—that it is hard to keep promises and hold the team in line. For the moment, however, Mulroney seems satisfied. Asked at his press conference how he likes his job, the Prime Minister flashed a boyish grin and allowed: "I'm enjoying it. I'm learning every day. I hope it will continue to go well."

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A rekindling of enduring loyalties

By Michael Clugston

William Sargeson, 60, his Second World War RCAF medals aparkling in the hot Fredericton sun, stamped out his cigar and straightened up as the limousine approached. As the band got set to strike up the royal anthem for the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II at the New Brunswick legislature, Sargeson explained, "Whenever a band plays *God Save the Queen*, I drop my cigar and stand up straight as wood." Said Kenneth McEachern, 18, who saw the Queen with a row of rock 'n' roll buttons on his jean jacket: "I'm here because she's famous, I guess." The gap in attitudes between William Sargeson and Kenneth McEachern expressed the spread in their ages, but it also reflected the diverse attitudes among citizens of all ages toward the Queen of Canada on her current visit to her Canadian realm.

As the Queen and Prince Philip began their 14-day journey through three provinces last week, divided sentiments attracted crowds made up of loyal royalists and the merely curious alike. The woman proclaimed monarch by the British government on Feb. 6, 1952 clearly stirred loyal monarchists who thronged her routes. But the Queen and her consort remain regal symbols of patriotism in the eyes and minds of older admirers. Canada itself is changing—and different, less passionate views of the monarchy are emerging. Although thousands of teenagers turned out to see the Queen, many saw her simply as a celebrity. Others did not go out of their way to see her at all.

Officials arranging the tour worried before the arrival in Moncton last Monday that Canadians might be reluctant to greet yet another celebrity, regal or not. After a summer of federal electioneering—the royal visit, originally scheduled for July, was delayed until after the Sept. 4 vote—and Pope John Paul II's historic visit to Canada last month, Moncton's Mayor George Rideout had feared that the Queen "might not attract too much attention." But as she travelled through New Brunswick and Ontario last week before rounding out her visit in Manitoba, beginning Oct. 4, large turnouts dispelled all such anxieties. "For the Pope," noted Rideout, "there was a great outpouring of emotion. With the Queen, the visit is more about warmth and friendliness, and a rekindling of loyalties."

The Queen's current visit—latest in a series since, still as a princess, she and Philip first toured for a month together in the fall of 1951—marks the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the first Loyalists who fled to Canada in the wake of the American War of Independence. It is also the bicentennial of both New Brunswick and Ontario, and the 150th anniversary of Toronto. After spending two days in New Brunswick and nine days in Ontario, the Queen travels on to Manitoba until Oct. 7. Then she pays private visits to thoroughbred horse farms in Kentucky. Royalists demonstrated their excitement from the outset. On the first day, schoolteacher John Lordon and 10 of the 14 students from his one-room school at Miscou Harbour, N.B., travelled 390 km to Moncton so that they could see the Queen. "There's some magic there, really," explained Lordon. "My hand shook while I focused my camera on her."



The Queen in Ottawa: magic and warmth



A Fredericton welcome (above), Queen arriving in Toronto: beaming smiles



Wearing brightly colored coats and dresses, the Queen spent her time in New Brunswick visiting cities and small towns, watching musical entertainments, meeting local VIPs and moving through crowds of flag-waving admirers on walkabouts. Through it all the Queen, 58, was free with beaming smiles. The jovial Philip, 63, bantered with children and, in Fredericton, groaned playfully when the Queen's formal titles—more than 30 of them—were read out in English, then repeated in French. The Queen's speeches contained some carefully worded references to problems among her subjects. In Moncton, where relations between English- and French-speaking New Brunswickers have been strained in the past, the Queen said at a dinner she hosted that "The French and the British at first fought over this land, but their descendants learned to live here in harmony and to have a common purpose. New Brunswick is a model which would serve the world well."

New Brunswick's loyal welcome was replayed along southeastern Ontario's belt of Loyalist settlements, en route between Ottawa and Toronto, but crowds were patchy in places. Nearly all the 5,000 residents of Prescott seemed to be on hand for the Queen, but the turnout was thinner in Cornwall. In Ottawa the national greeting was both formal and enthusiastic. As an honor guard of red-coated soldiers snapped to attention and saluting howitzers thundered 21 times on Parliament Hill, the Queen was greeted a second time—they met first in Moncton—by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The Queen praised parliamentary democracy and Canada's growth. "Pre-eminently among the world's nations, Canada represents hope in the future." Mulroney's remarks reflected the loyalist Canadian attitude when he said: "My predominant emotion on an occasion with so much meaning for so many Canadians is one of immense pride. Once again, your majesty, you have won all of our hearts."

To the polls two years early

Even though nearly two years remained in the mandate that Premier John Buchanan's Conservatives won in 1981, Nova Scotians in recent weeks were well aware that a provincial election was in the wind. While Buchanan insisted he had "no present plans" to call an election, road-paving crews were at work across the province—a traditional vote-winning gesture—while, in other telling moves, the government launched campaigns to combat drunk driving and child abuse. Then the premier ended the suspense and announced that the province will go to the polls on Nov. 6.

In calling the election Buchanan tried to make a virtue out of the fact that there are few burning issues on which to fight it. "I don't believe elections should be fought on issues," the 53-year-old premier declared, adding that a new mandate would help him negotiate a better deal on offshore natural gas development with Brian Mulroney's government. When a reporter suggested that Buchanan might simply be trying to hitch a ride on the success of the federal Tories, the premier declared, "I've never gone to victory on anybody's coattails."

At dissolution, Buchanan's Tories held 38 of the legislature's 52 seats and the opposition Liberals 12, while the New Democratic Party and the breakaway Cape Breton Labor Party held one each. With Buchanan's Tories widely expected to coast to another easy victory, the main contest may pit the Liberals, who are running low on funds under the lacklustre leadership of Sandy Cameron, against the New Democrats led by Alexa McDonough, who hopes her party becomes the official opposition.

Buchanan will campaign on the government's record in building for the province's future—including a $50-million pilot project launched in September to generate electricity from Bay of Fundy tides—while the opposition hammers away at the province's 12.5-per-cent unemployment, the $2.2-billion provincial deficit and the high cost of electrical power in Nova Scotia. Looming over the campaign is another, potentially critical issue which all four parties may find difficult to tackle. After disappointing results in the hunt for commercial quantities of natural gas off Nova Scotia's Atlantic coast, the major oil companies may be preparing to pull out soon—an event that would effectively puncture dreams of a new and more prosperous future for the province.

—DEBORAH JONES *in Halifax.*



Lévesque: placating a troublesome party after friendly approaches to Ottawa

Rethinking independence

When Brian Mulroney's Conservatives swept into power last month with 58 members of Parliament from Quebec, Premier René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government promptly signalled a thaw in its relations with Ottawa. For Lévesque the decision was a timely one. He made the move at a time when polls indicate that his avowedly separatist party is in deep disfavor with the Quebec electorate. But the budding rapprochement with Ottawa also involved some careful manoeuvring by the politically agile premier. As Ottawa's new communications minister, Marcel Masse, met for talks with his Quebec counterparts, Lévesque acted to stifle discontent among hard-core separatists in the party by naming two of them, including one of his most outspoken critics in the past, to his cabinet.

The transparently schizophrenic mood in Quebec City was clear from the meeting between Masse, who served in Union Nationale governments between 1966 and 1970, and Lévesque's deputies, Communications Minister Jean-François Bertrand and Cultural Affairs Minister Clément Richard. Afterward, the provincial ministers spoke glowingly of "cordiality" and "constructive dialogue" and they reported reaching a series of agreements with Ottawa. Among them: a federal contribution of $500,000 to encourage establishment of an international computer software industry in Montreal.

On the same day, Lévesque moved to heal the ideological strains within his party. He brought Marcel Léger, a former PQ minister, back into the cabinet as tourism minister and he appointed Louise Harel immigration and cultural communities minister. She is a PQ left-winger who once infuriated the premier by organizing party employees into a union. Significantly, both the new ministers were ardent supporters of the ill-fated Parti Nationaliste, a PQ offshoot that was designed to provide a vehicle for entering federal politics. But Lévesque virtually disowned the new party, and it was all but ignored by Quebec voters in the Sept. 4 national election.

de Bellefeuille: anger



ARNE GRAVBOURG

Lévesque's balancing act was symptomatic of the divisions developing within the party. In recent weeks the PQ's radical wing has been unnerved not only by the improvement in Quebec-Ottawa relations but by signs that Lévesque may be considering backing away temporarily from the party's commitment to separatism. At the same time, a new mood among PQ moderates was indicated by Linguistic Affairs Minister Gerald Godin, who is recovering from surgery to remove an abscess on the brain and gave up the immigration and cultural communities portfolios to Harel. "If we could get what we want out of Confederation by making a constitutional deal with the Conservatives," noted Godin, "I for one would see nothing wrong with continuing to be Canadian."

That approach angered hard-core Péquistes, who expressed shock when Lévesque urged the party's National Council in Quebec City last month to soften its sovereignty policy. He said that the PQ should "rethink" a controversial resolution passed last June that committed the party to regard a 50-per-cent share of the vote plus one in the next provincial election, due by April, 1986, as a mandate for independence. Declared Pierre de Bellefeuille, a veteran PQ MNA: "It is ridiculous. Lévesque and these people want to bring up the issue [of independence] some time around the year 2000, and I personally will not stand for that."

Recent polls have shown that enthusiasm for the Parti Québécois and its independence option has dramatically declined. They indicate that support has fallen from a high of about 41 per cent in 1976, when the PQ won office for the first time, to between 22 and 25 per cent of voters. Former premier Robert Bourassa's resurgent provincial Liberals have about 69 per cent. As well, membership in the PQ has plummeted from a high of 300,000 in 1981 to 113,000, with a loss of about 52,000 in the past eight months.

Indeed, faced by his party's slump and the sudden popularity of the federal Tories, Lévesque appears to have little choice but to come to terms with the new political reality. Declared Henry Milner, an anglophone member of the PQ's national executive: "The voters were saying that they've had enough of this squabbling on both sides. Only a fool would ignore that message—and we are not foolish." In the meantime, as he struggles to hold his divided and beleaguered party together, Lévesque will have to decide how to reconcile political expediency with the party's original and fundamental goal of independence. And, as de Bellefeuille admitted, "The sad fact is that before we do that, we must first find out how many of our party still believe in this themselves."

—ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

The endless Mackasey saga

When financier Robert Harrison absconded from a Montreal court hearing a month ago and fled to Paraguay, it seemed that details of his alleged financial dealings on behalf of former Liberal cabinet minister Bryce Mackasey might remain forever shrouded in mystery. But last week, after surrendering to the Mounties in Miami, the once prosperous accountant was back in court after talking outside about alleged political involvement in the case. As the preliminary hearing continued into 13 charges against him of perjury, theft and fraud in an effort to help Mackasey pay off a $625,000 debt, the Montreal *Gazette* quoted Harrison as claiming that the office of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau played a role over the years in discussing Mackasey's debt problems. According to Harrison's reported account, officials in Trudeau's office discussed with him and Mackasey last year a parliamentary inquiry then investigating charges of influence peddling against Mackasey.

Harrison's return, and his account of a political background to the case, made the latest chapter in an 18-month saga of charges and countercharges involving Mackasey and Harrison, a former president of the Montreal Board of Trade. In the spring of 1983 *The Gazette* reported that Mackasey had abused his position as a member of Parliament by lobbying in Ottawa on behalf of a Montreal machine and tool company, Les Ateliers d'Usinage Hall Ltée. Subsequently charged with influence peddling, Mackasey was acquitted by a Montreal court and subsequently absolved as well by the parliamentary inquiry.



Montreal financier Herrison: a distaste for Latin hotels

Harrison was charged late last year. But after months of preliminary hearings, the 41-year-old financier left for South America with two suitcases and $1,800. He returned after consulting his lawyer in Miami, declaring that "a prison in Canada is better than a hotel room in Paraguay." Harrison also told *The Gazette* that, in 1981, he and Mackasey and a Montreal businessman hammered out a deal that figures in his court case. It involved borrowing $400,000 from the Bank of Montreal with a loan guarantee from Les Ateliers d'Usinage Hall Ltée so that Harrison could purchase the indebted Mackasey's portfolio of stocks. According to Harrison, Mackasey, in return, was to lobby for federal work contracts for the company, but Mackasey "never really did anything." Les Ateliers went bankrupt six months after the deal.

In court last week, chartered accountant Guy Ferland testified for the prosecution that he could not understand why Harrison had purchased Mackasey's stocks for $400,000 when their market value was only $193,000. Ferland also noted that Les Ateliers was not worth $400,000 when it guaranteed the loan. Harrison, handcuffed but apparently relaxed in court, was scheduled to give his own version this week. For his part, Mackasey had other causes for concern. Designated ambassador to Portugal by the former Liberal government but faced with a cool reaction in Lisbon, Mackasey was left waiting for a resolution by Brian Mulroney's new Conservative government.

—BRUCE WALLACE *in Montreal.*



Reagan and Gromyko in the Oval Office: the only point the two sides agreed on was to 'stay in touch'

WORLD

An uneasy East-West meet

By Marci McDonald

An unseasonal chill had descended over Washington, prompting White House staff to light a fire in the Oval Office But when veteran Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko emerged smiling from his historic four-hour, 20-minute call on President Ronald Reagan last Friday afternoon, fists clenched over his head in a heavyweight's victory salute, it appeared doubtful that the blazing hearth had done much to thaw the deep freeze gripping East-West relations

National Security Adviser Robert C McFarlane left the meeting—Reagan's first with a top-level Soviet official since he took office in 1981—announcing that it "went about as expected" Clearly, that neutral assessment did not promise a swift return to the nuclear bargaining table Even Secretary of State George Shultz, carefully summing up the encounter as a "useful and intense interchange of views," had to concede that the only point that the two sides had agreed on was to "stay in touch" Nor did Shultz's follow-up Saturday session with Gromyko raise hopes that Moscow would accept the offer of yearly cabinet-level talks, a proposal that Reagan made in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly at the start of the week At least until the Nov 6 U S presidential election is over, the Soviet hierarchy also seemed to be refusing the other bait that the president had inserted into his UN address a hint that Washington was ready to consider a temporary ban on testing anti-satellite weapons during negotiations

Indeed, Gromyko's own tough speech to the General Assembly the day before his White House visit seemed to have set the tone for their talks. In that sombre, hard-line, 75-minute discourse, he showed how skeptical the Kremlin remains over the sudden conversion of Reagan from the author of "evil empire" attacks on the Soviet Union to pre-election peacemaker Throwing the ball back into the American court, he demanded "concrete deeds and not verbal assurances" Added Gromyko "A change in tone is not enough"

Still, even those jaundiced critics who had dismissed the meeting as nothing more than a re-election tactic had to admit that it was a start toward reopening the East-West dialogue Despite Gromyko's harsh address, both sides had considerably lowered the decibel level of their oratorical hostilities In the most conciliatory speech of his entire presidency, Reagan refrained from a single attack on the Soviet Union And, while U S officials rated Gromyko's address as even tougher than expected, Eastern Europeans termed it moderate, at least by Soviet standards

Shultz talks were 'useful'



For Reagan, 39 days from presidential balloting, the fact that the meeting occurred at all was a significant political coup For months, opinion polls had shown Reagan's most vulnerable point among the electorate, one that might deny him a landslide victory, was based on fear of nuclear war After the Gromyko summit was announced, White House aides quickly moved to turn it into a week-long media blitz, beginning with the president's UN speech To counter Reagan's reputation for a weak grasp on international issues, aides briefed reporters lavishly on his preparations for the encounter, outlining the contents of a three-inch-thick briefing book prepared by state department officials The president also read four or five books on the Soviet Union, among them *Land of the Firebird. The Beauty of Old Russia*, by Suzanne Massie Reagan, who prefers personal anecdotes to briefing books, also conferred with former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who warned him that Gromyko could not easily be charmed

By meeting Gromyko and brandishing his new peacemaking rhetoric, Reagan neutralized the sting of Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale's most potent campaign charge—that he was the first American president since Herbert Hoover who had not met with a Soviet leader Certainly the Reagan-Gromyko meeting overshadowed Mondale's own 90-minute New York conference with the Soviet foreign minister, just hours after Gromyko's icy UN blast For Mondale, that encounter presented a delicate dilemma: how to criticize Reagan's lack of dialogue with the Soviets at the very time a meeting was scheduled, and how to present himself as the better East-West negotiator without appearing too soft But Mondale did try to counter the White House tactics of playing down expectations by suggesting, afterward, that Reagan had "an opportunity for significant progress"

In fact, the Soviet decision to hold last week's meeting with Reagan indicated that the Kremlin is resigned to his re-election More significantly, Soviet leaders might also have feared that refusing requests to reopen the dialogue would work against them in world opinion As well, the Soviet Union may have had more urgent motives. Sovietologist Mikhail S Bernstam, a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, said Gromyko came to Washington to win U S guarantees for at least part of the estimated $2 3 billion in new loans needed to buy an extra 13 million tons of American grain

That may well have been the main reason for Gromyko's triumphant fist-clench Certainly, he was not celebrating the fact that, only one day before his confrontation with Reagan, a joint committee of Congress renamed the address of the Soviet Embassy in Washington for a renowned Soviet dissenter. The new address. One Sakharov Plaza ◇

PHILIPPINES

Indicting the military



Police using water cannon on demonstrators in Manila: an atmosphere of crisis

Throughout the steamy capital the tension erupted in outbursts of violence As a government inquiry into last year's assassination of Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino prepared to issue its report, Manila resembled a city under siege Massed downtown, riot troops fought running battles with young protesters In one dramatic showdown last week police prevented 10,000 demonstrators led by Benigno's brother, novice politician Agapito (Butz) Aquino, from occupying a short bridge leading to Malacañang, President Ferdinand Marcos's official residence The police fired guns and tear gas on the demonstrators—students, businessmen, unionists and politicos, all opposed to the rule of the embattled Marcos And observers predicted the commission's findings, expected to implicate the Filipino military, would do little to dispel the crisis. Complained commission chairman Corazon Agrava. "We do not have direct evidence to make it easy for us We have only secondary evidence"

Ver facing the blame



For most Filipinos, that may be enough Few now doubt that, at some level, the military participated in Aquino's Aug 21, 1983, murder Independent lawyers' groups observing the inquiry's 11-month-long hearings believed that high-level officials had been directly involved If confirmed, that would force armed forces Chief of Staff Gen Fabian Ver, under the doctrine of command responsibility, to take the ultimate blame

What remained uncertain was how Marcos himself would react to the Agrava report Indeed, the Aquino issue confronts the president with a dilemma On the one hand, if he refuses to accept that senior military officers were responsible, he risks provoking more political unrest. On the other, if he sacrifices Ver, he risks alienating his most vital base of support, the military Conceded one Filipino official privately: "To really get the military would go against our culture" For their part, military leaders have repeatedly claimed that Aquino was shot by Rolando Galman, a small-time Manila gangster hired by communist insurgents But witnesses appearing before the five-member commission testified that Galman had been chatting amiably with security officers shortly before Aquino stepped off a China Airlines flight from the United States Galman's bullet-ridden corpse was later found on the tarmac near Aquino's body

The weight of evidence has forced Marcos to back publicly away from the military's alibi Indeed,

sources inside the presidential palace said that Marcos—seriously ill at the time of the killing—later raged for several hours over the assassination, branding it "insane." Some observers speculated that Filipino military leaders believed last year that Marcos was dying of kidney disease They feared the popular Aquino would seize control from the small but powerful coterie of Marcos allies—including his ambitious wife, Imelda, and Chief of Steff Ver In fact, said scholar Lawrence Krause of the Washington-based Brookings Institution "Marcos was very sick when Aquino arrived One faction [of the military] is very close to Mrs Marcos"

Whatever the truth, the commission's report seemed certain to ignite an atmosphere of impending crisis The future of Marcos's 19-year rule is itself in doubt. Manila's streets echo with proteste almost every week In the countryside, communist guerrillas are on the advance. The Filipino economy bas been devastated by a crushing recession and a staggering $26-billion debt. Indeed, international bankers have become skeptical about the nation's ability to repay its loans Said Krause. "The economy can't be fixed until the politica are fixed"

Fixing the politics will not be easy Relations with Manila's closest ally, Washington, are steadily deteriorating The Reagan administration has begun to pressure Marcos to bring Aquino's killers to justice But, alarmed at the spread of communist insurgency, the White House cannot afford to abandon Marcos The Philippines archipelago hoste both the Clark air force and Subic Bay naval bases—vitel U S military assets on the Pacific Rim Looming as an ominous backdrop to the nation's travails is the question of who will succeed the 67-year-old Marcos Some studente of the situation bave warned that the military will assert itself Others doubt that "The leedership may go to the moderate opposition," predicted Richard Kessler of the Georgetown Center for Strstegic and International Studies in Washington "They could probably hold the country together"

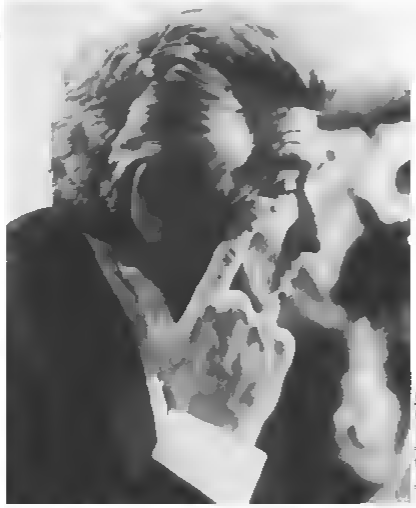
For the time being, Marcos allies voiced confidence that the president's historic resilience would see him through Benigno Aquino's posthumous challenge "The Agrava report is another crisis point," said one aide "There have been plenty The president has survived the others and he will survive this one" But as the nation buried 11 victims of last week's rioting, the pro-Marcos optimists seemed about to be drowned out by the rising din of protest

—LIN NEUMANN *in Manila, with William Lowther in Washington.*

AUSTRALIA

A public man's private grief

Until last week the rough-hewn, plain-speaking Australian leader had seemed politically unassailable Indeed, Bob Hawke, 54, the nation's Labor prime minister, was known to voters as "Mr. 70 Per Cent," a reference to his consistently high ratings in public opinion polls. Hawke and his party enjoyed such a powerful lead over the confused and fragmented opposition Liberal and National parties that the prime minister recently considered calling a general election only 19 months into his three-year mandate Even business leaders have praised the left-wing leader for his handling of the economy But last week Hawke's aura of invincibility fell away during a spectecular press conference in whicb he broke down and wept The cause: allegations by Liberal opposition leader Andrew Peacock that Hawke consorted with members of organized crime, among them drug traffickers. Then, Hawke's wife, Hazel, offered another reason for her husband's televised breakdown She revealed that their 23-year-old daughter, Rosslyn, and her husband, Matt Dillon, were both heroin addicts



Hawke: his aura of invincibility finally breached

The drama began in parliament Sept. 13 when Peacock, 45, launched a savage attack on the Labor government's program to combat organized crime. He described the diminutive Hawke as a "little crook" and "one who takes bis orders from those who associate with criminals" Peacock's embarrassed colleagues immediately distanced themselves from his remarks as hostile public reaction prompted commentators to conclude that Peacock may have committed electoral suicide.

Under pressure to substantiate his personal attecks on the prime minister, Peacock issued a 14-page statement accusing Hawke of deliberately impeding the work of a four-year royal commission investigating organized crime. Peacock added that Hawke had tried to curtail the commission's probe just when it was about to implicate major figures involved in narcotics, pornography and prostitution The opposition leader also suggested Hawke had personally met with an underworld figure involved in drugs and tax evasion Hawke responded by calling the fateful press conference to deny the charges He sterted by expressing his revulsion at suggestions that he would try to cover up the identification of anyone involved in "insidious and abominable" drug trafficking He said that he would be forced to take legal action if Peacock repeated the accusations outside parliament. When reporters asked him how the personal attack had affected his family, Hawke broke down and said with tears on his cheeks "You don't cease to be a father, my children and my wife have a right to be protected in this matter"

At week's end both leading parties were costing the damage of two tumultuous weeks Then, a public opinion poll taken shortly after Hawke's tearful press conference showed that Peacock may have suffered the most in the showdown His approval rating plummeted to an all-time low of 25 per cent, while Hawke suffered only a slight decline, to 66 per cent. While Peacock immediately expressed his sympathy for Hawke, he questioned whether the prime minister could withstand the strain of gov erning again But longer-term questions—about criminality, a family's public anguish, partisan rivalry and the political fallout—remain

—PHILIP GRENARD *in Sydney*

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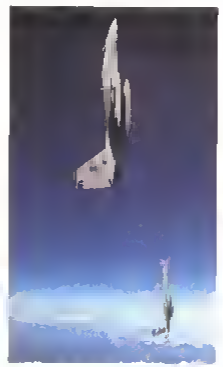
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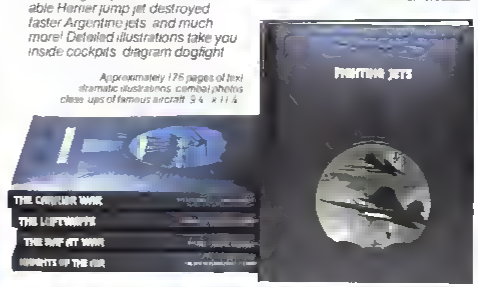


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BEIRUT

Amid the ruins, signs of optimism

The aftermath of another murderous eruption in the Middle East brought recriminations and new threats. But, contrarily, the latest car bomb attack in Lebanon also revived talk of peace. As investigators picked through the rubble of the U.S. Embassy annex in the East Beirut suburb of Aukar last week, critics in Washington blamed the Reagan administration for lax security 11 months after a similar but graver attack killed hundreds of Americans. In the Sept. 20 bombing 14 people died and more than 70 were wounded. Since then, a shadowy pro-Iranian group known as Islamic Jihad (Holy War) claimed responsibility. The attack mirrored bombings last Oct. 23 at U.S. marine barracks and at the French Embassy in Beirut which killed 299.

President Reagan conceded that security measures for the new complex were still being installed when embassy personnel began moving in. But the president added in a remark which critics considered unfeelingly flippant: "Anybody who has had a kitchen done over knows that it never gets done as soon as you wish." Tip O'Neill, House of Representatives speaker, condemned Reagan's remark as "a stupid alibi for the destruction of our embassy." At the same time an anonymous caller to a Beirut newspaper declared that there will be another "big operation" against Americans in the future. Washington issued alerts to American missions abroad and ordered three U.S. warships to stand by off the Lebanese coast.

But amid the tension more promising signals emerged. Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for near eastern affairs, flew to Beirut to assess the damage and to assure Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami that Washington would continue to support his government. Murphy then made stops in Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Conciliatory statements from moderate Arab capitals and Jerusalem, as well as cautious American optimism out of Syria, reopened a chance of U.S. mediation in the Middle East. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz declared, "We always want to be helpful."

In a significant display of conciliation, Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres said he hoped to withdraw Israel's 14,000 troops from southern Lebanon "in a matter of months." Then Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir dropped a long-standing Israeli demand that Syria simultaneously withdraw its 30,000 troops from east Lebanon. Jerusalem is preoccupied by an enemy within—a financial and economic crisis fed by the $1-million-a-day cost of its Lebanese occupation force. The Israeli concessions broke one barrier to a pullout by Syria, which has balked at making it part of a deal with Israel. That stance helped scuttle a U.S.-sponsored peace plan last spring. Between them, Israel and Syria occupy 70 per cent of Lebanese territory.

Still, formidable obstacles remain. Israeli officials want security against any renewal of Palestinian hit-and-run attacks that prompted its 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Expelled members of the Palestine Liberation Organization have been filtering back into Beirut. To safeguard itself after a withdrawal, Israel wants a south Lebanon buffer zone and expansion of a 5,700-man United Nations peacekeeping force in the region. But, Israeli observers conceded, the most important condition governing troop withdrawal is winning approval from Syria's President Hafez al-Assad. To that end, U.S. officials hope that Murphy's visit with Assad will warm Washington's icy relation with Damascus and smooth the way for talks on a withdrawal scheme.

An important move on a different front came when Jordan's King Hussein announced last week that his country would restore full diplomatic relations with Egypt. Until now, Egypt has been isolated in the Arab world for having signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Syria, which has tried unsuccessfully to supplant Egypt as the leader of the Arab world, reacted angrily. The state-controlled newspaper *al Thawrah* called for "swift and decisive action" against Jordan. Despite the ominous threats, U.S. officials saw the week's events as a welcome turn after the attack. However, as the past has proven time and again, positive signs in the unpredictable Middle East can fade in the heat of old enmities and new affronts. It remains possible that expanding the U.S. diplomatic presence again may only offer extremist elements more targets for tragedy. —ROBIN WRIGHT *in Beirut*



Convalescing U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Reginald Bartholomew with Murphy in Beirut: flippant

Hussein: conciliation



An economy under siege

With festive loaves of braided challah bread and apples dipped in honey, Israelis last week greeted the year 5745 in their calendar with celebration But feasting on sweets was soured by the knowledge that the new year is likely to test the economic sinew of the entire nation

In the final days of the old year, the new national unity government of Shimon Peres devalued the shekel by nine per cent and chopped $1 billion (U S) out of a spending budget of $20 billion More than one-third ($350 million) of the total cut came out of generous annual subsidies for basic foods Almost overnight the budget squeeze boosted the cost of everything from gasoline to movie tickets, as well as food

Indeed, grocers gave up pricing shelf items and left shoppers to get the bad news at the cash register With the annual education budget earmarked for a $100-million trimming, schoolchildren faced cleaning their own classrooms The austerity atmosphere was contagious In Petah Tikvah, a community of more than 100,000 people near Tel Aviv, town authorities kept street lights off in the evening to save money

Government officials served notice that even the old-year jolts of austerity will not be enough "These measures are designed to create the conditions for a frontal attack on inflation," said Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai. "They are not in themselves sufficient to heal the economy." Peres likened the nation to "a patient who, in addition to medical treatment, needs to be put on a diet" Cabinet proposals would raise taxes on cars, industrial machinery and some old-age pensions

Few disputed the diagnosis or the prescription so far Inflation was surging at an annual rate of 400 per cent and seemed set to gather momentum. Israel's $23-billion foreign debt ranked as the world's biggest on a per-person basis of $5,700 The country's foreign currency reserves, at $2 4 billion, sagged below the minimum $3 billion that experts consider secure

A major drain on the treasury is the $1-million-a-day cost of maintaining a buffering occupation force in neighboring southern Lebanon Jerusalem is looking to Washington for an infusion of $700 million on top of $2 6 billion in grants approved by the U.S. Congress. But Peres is under pressure to take sterner steps first Said Sam Lewis, the veteran U S ambassador to Israel "The tough decisions will have to be made here"

Analysts urged Peres to dismantle inflation-linked mechanisms that effectively compensate Israelis for as much as 90 per cent of price increases But he must convince his Labor Party colleagues, his Likud coalition partners and political allies in organized labor. As Peres prepared for a White House meeting Oct 9, he acknowledged, "We cannot turn to anyone, nor will anyone respond to us, until we have set our own house in order"

—DAVID BERNSTEIN *in Jerusalem*



Black market money changers in Tel Aviv street: jolts of austerity may not be enough

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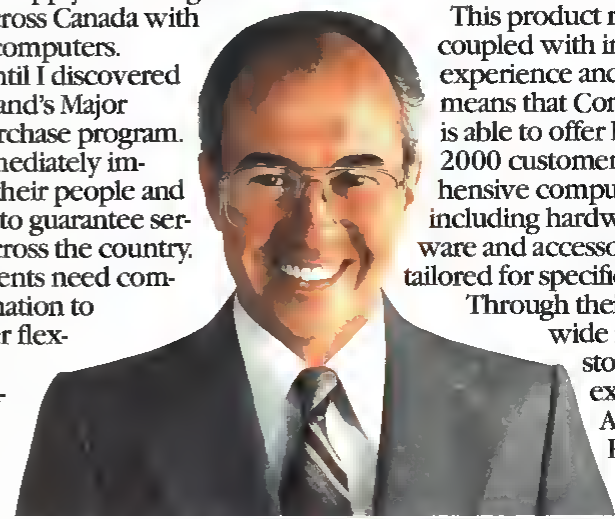
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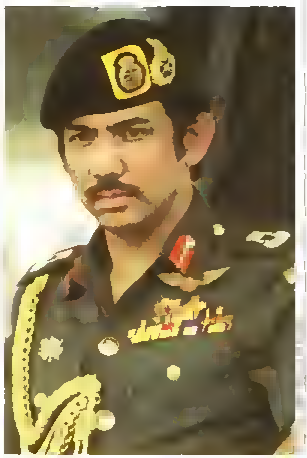
Actress **Keren Allen**, 33, was pleased when *Harper's Bazaar* proclaimed her as one of the 10 most beautiful women in the United States last year but she resents being typecast as the "damsel in distress." She has found that difficult to avoid. In her latest movie, *Until September*, she plays a tourist stranded in Paris, where **Thierry Lhermitte**, playing a banker, has to rescue her. And in her most famous movie, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), she says she had to fight director **Steven Spielberg** to keep her role as Marion Ravenwood from turning into a too-helpless female, "in this little backless white dress." Between *Raiders* and *September*, Allen took to the stage and got her way with the rough-and-tumble female lead as a rape victim in the off-Broadway production of *Extremities*. As did **Susan Serandon** and **Farreh Fawcett** in the same role, Allen hurled herself into the part. "I completely ransacked myself physically," she said. The daughtar of an FBI agent, Allen claims that the only time she really feels helpless is when she watches herself in a film. Said Allen: "You can never improve it."



Allen: a physical ransacking in Extremities

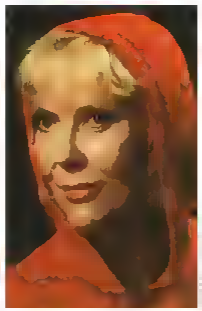
In separate and diverse gestures New York-born author **James Michener**, 77, and **Sir Muda Hassenal Bolkiah Mulzeddin Waddauleh**, 38, the sultan of the newly independent Southeast Asian nation of Brunei Darussalany, have added a touch of class to the art of giving away money. Michener, who had won a $2,000 scholarship to Philadelphia's Swarthmore College in 1925, decided to return the money to his alma mater—with $1,998,000 interest. For his part, the sultan celebrated oil-rich (expected 1984 revenues: $1.5 billion) Brunei's entry into the United Nations by handing New York City Mayor **Edward Koch** a cheque for $500,000. He also gave the United Nations Children's Fund $1 million. Michener said that he owed "a tremendous debt" to his college. But the sultan had a different motive. He declared, "I feel a very deep responsibility to share this wealth with the poor and needy."

Sultan of Brunei: a touch of class



Performer **Don Harron** extended himself into a family of three when he created country philosopher **Charlie Farquharson** and matronly gossip **Veierie Rosedale**. Now he has added a fourth: his real daughter **Mertha**, 32. All four at least *appear* to have written the new satire *Debunk's Illustrated Guide to the Canadian Establishment*. It includes Farquharson's fractured English ("Newfylanders thinks Novy Koshers dun a bad deel with Ottawar") and Rosedale's snobbery ("Only those who hold the keys to the kingdom know where the keyhole is"). **Bronfmens** become Barfmans, **Eatons** are SimpCos, broadcaster **John Bassett**, publisher **Ken Thomson** and hockey baron **Harold Ballard** are woven into "Lloyd Basserd of Front." The elusive "power" rests in the hands of the women and their "powder network." Claimed Harron: "Everyone is disguised so we won't get sued." Daughter Martha did half the work, said Harron, because "I have trouble with real English." But he let Rosedale have the last word. "The thinking cap is one of the greatest Old Girl gizmos of all time," she allegedly wrote, "and it really works, if you know how to use your head. For some reason men have never been able to get the hang of it."

Davidson: shaky technique



Television personality **Joyce Davidson**'s image is associated more with heads of state than babies' bottoms, but she readily accepted the host role on a new daytime TV series called *Parenting*. With three children of her own, two step-children and five grandchildren, 53-year-old Davidson, now a single parent, said the assignment attracted her because, although she has been "a parent most of my life," her early technique was shaky. *Parenting* offers tips on toys, education, nutrition and interviews with celebrity parents, including Davidson herself in a host-turns-guest twist. She has been working since the age of 20 but still insists on such family traditions as gathering her clan for a home-cooked Thanksgiving dinner in New York every year. The former wife of TV producer **David Susskind** has long been accustomed to having servants but insists on cooking her Thanksgiving specialties, Blackberry Julep Ham and Queen's Mother Cake, personally. But then she turns her back on the kitchen because, she said, "I don't like cleaning up." —EDITED BY BETTE LADEROUTE

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The high cost of problem loans

By James Fleming

It was a public display of mutual reassurance by Western bankers and economists. Last week, at the joint annual meeting in Washington of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, the twin pillars of the international banking system, financial mandarins from the world's major industrial nations agreed that no new methods were needed to handle the global debt crisis. Despite the misgivings of financially beleaguered nations whose delegates warned that the crisis was as acute as ever, the developed nations agreed that the current strategy of handling debtor countries' repayment problems on an individual, case-by-case basis was working and the threat posed by the Third World's total $800-billion (U.S.) debt to the international banking system had eased. Declared IMF managing director Jacques de Larosière: "The prospects for an orderly and effective handling of the debt situation are much better than they were a year ago."

U.S. President Ronald Reagan set the most optimistic tone when he addressed delegates from the 147 countries that are members of the two organizations. He said that "the strength of the U.S. recovery is helping lead the world from recession toward a new period of economic expansion." But, despite the hopeful tone of the Western nations' rhetoric, the outlook remains sobering for one key set of players in the debt drama: the West's commercial banks, which now rival the IMF and World Bank as the most important source of loans for the developing world. Since 1980 bank balance sheets in Canada, the United States and Europe have been badly affected because debtor nations, especially in Latin America, have failed to make interest payments on their debts. As well, major Western bank stocks have fallen in price over the past year due to investor worries.

To cope with the debtors' inability to make principal or interest paymants, Western banks and the IMF, which imposes severe economic austerity measures on poor nations in return for loans at commercial rates, have recently agreed to stretch out repayment periods on major loans and to lower the interest charges on them to make them more bearable. Their hope is that developing countries facing financial bankruptcy will be able to avoid defaults. According to Terry Glossop, general manager of international marketing at the Toronto Dominion Bank, the banks have had little choice in the matter. Said Glossop: "It is no good being unrealistic. Those countries do not generate enough foreign exchange to service their debts."



De Larosière (left), World Bank president A. W. Clausen, U.S. treasury secretary Donald Regan, and (below) Bank of Canada governor Gerald Bouey, danger

Last week Venezuela announced that it had reached an agreement with 460 creditor banks to reschedule a $20.8-billion debt due between 1983 and 1988 over a 12½-year period at lower interest rates. That followed a similar agreement between Mexico and its bankers on Sept. 8 to stretch out $48.5 billion of its $96-billion debt over a 14-year period, also at reduced interest rates. At the same time, Argentina, which last week reached agreement with the IMF on an economic austerity package, now hopes to win lenient terms from its foreign bankers for repayment of $20 billion in commercial debt.



But the failure of the Latin American nations in particular to make interest payments on their debts in recent years—and the reduced interest payments included in the rescheduling packages—is beginning to have an impact on the balance sheets of Western banks. According to Steven Kressler, an analyst with Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. in Toronto, nine of Canada's major chartered banks hold about $16 billion in loans to Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina. Kurt von dem Hagen, vice-president of country strategies at the Royal Bank of Canada, insists that the problem loans do not threaten the stability of the banks. Said von dem Hagen: "Relative to the overall balance sheet, these loans are not significant enough to have much of an impact on corporate well-being." But, he added, "The fact that some of these countries are not making interest payments shows up in the banks' quarterly earnings." Kressler estimates that for every one-per-cent drop in the interest rate charged on the risky debts, the Canadian banking system's after-tax profits—last year Canada's Big Five chartered banks earned



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$1.4 billion—will be reduced by about 10 per cent.

Western bank regulators have grown increasingly worried about their banks' exposure to risky international loans. Kressler estimates that nine major Canadian banks' loans to Latin American countries total about 130 per cent of the banks' common equity—money invested by shareholders. Should the countries not repay their loans, that equity would not be enough to cover the losses. Troubled by the situation, William Kennett, the federal inspector general of banks, asked the banks last April to increase the reserves they set aside to guard against losses on risky loans to 32 nations. The banks will not disclose the impact of the reserve increase on their earnings, but the TD's Glossop acknowledged that profits will suffer as a result. Indeed, Edna Chapman, an analyst with Wood Gundy Ltd. in Toronto, said the reserve increase as well as loan losses lowered the banks' profits in the third fiscal quarter to $423 million—down 5.9 per cent from the same period last year. According to a Wood Gundy analysis, Canadian bank share prices have suffered as well. It shows that the Toronto Stock Exchange's index of bank stocks has declined by 15 per cent in the past 12 months. By comparison, the TSE's broader composite index of 300 stocks fell by seven per cent.

In the United States, where 53 banks have failed so far this year—the worst record since the Depression—the impact of problem loans has been more dramatic. In June federal regulators imposed tougher standards on the way banks account for international loan payments that are more than 90 days past due—called nonperforming loans. Those stringent new rules were the prime reason for large profit drops in the second quarter at some major banks, including Manufacturers Hanover and the Bank of America. Earnings at those banks dropped by more than 29 per cent.

Canadian banks are suffering a major decline in income from international lending. Not only have profit margins on foreign loans narrowed but the banks are being very cautious about making new loans abroad. Banks also face stagnant demand for loans from domestic corporations still trying to recover from the recession. As a result, Chapman expects their earnings to "remain flat into 1985." But the spectre of an international default troubles even that mediocre scenario. According to Lord Lever, a British expert who led a study group on the debt problem for the Commonwealth nations, Western bankers are wary of revealing the extent of their worries in public. But in private, he said, they acknowledge "the enormous peril they are in."

With correspondents' reports.

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The Amauligak well: after 15 years, Gulf might have struck a major reserve

Signs of a Beaufort bonanza

For more than a decade consortiums of energy firms have searched fruitlessly for a major oil reserve in the Beaufort Sea, a quest that has consumed $5 billion of the firms' money and $1.5 billion in government grants. Over the years energy experts have become increasingly worried that the enormous investment would prove futile. But last week quiet elation spread through cautious oil company executives when Gulf Canada Resources Inc. of Calgary announced that it had discovered a well which it hopes will be large enough to support commercial production. Said Gulf president Harry Carlyle: "It is the most encouraging news we have had so far in the Beaufort."

According to Gulf officials, the Amauligak J-44 well, located in the icy water 75 km north of Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T., is capable of producing 13,600 barrels of crude oil a day—by far the largest find yet in the Beaufort. Gulf is counting on further tests to show that the company has drilled into a 400-million-barrel pool, the minimum amount needed to justify production. Many oil analysts are already confident that Gulf has struck the long-sought-after "elephant" well. Said Andrew Gustajtis, senior oil analyst with Walwyn Stodgell Cochran Murray Ltd. in Toronto: "I think it will prove to be the critical mass structure that everyone had been looking for."

Gulf will finally be able to justify the $1.25 billion it has poured into Beaufort exploration over the past 15 years if the well proves commercially viable. Much of that money has been invested in ingenious equipment designed to withstand the polar pack ice that covers the Beaufort for nine months of the year—the floating drilling vessel that was used to drill Amauligak cost $140 million alone.

Last week's development heartened the Gulf-led consortium, as well as the other major Beaufort explorers, Esso Resources Canada Ltd. and Dome Petroleum Ltd. Although Esso has not hit a pool as large as Gulf's, company spokesman Edward Caldwell said the firm has discovered proven offshore reserves of between 150 million and 200 million barrels and onshore reserves of about 100 million barrels. Said Caldwell: "The Gulf discovery certainly reinforces our belief that the Beaufort is a good place to look for oil." According to Carlyle, if Gulf's discovery contains 400 million barrels, those reserves combined with Esso's will be enough to justify the construction of a pipeline to bring the oil to southern markets. Analyst Gustajtis estimates that it would cost between $8 and $16 a barrel to pipe the oil to shore and another $4 to $8 a barrel to ship it south. Said Gustajtis: "With the world price of oil at about $38 (Cdn.), that still gives them a lot of flexibility."

So far, Dome, the company that almost singlehandedly convinced the federal government and investors of the Beaufort's potential, has shown the least impressive drilling results. The giant energy company and its partners plan to invest $400 million this year alone, drilling in waters further offshore than Gulf or Esso. But Gulf's find encouraged officials at Dome, which has been struggling since 1981 to avoid bankruptcy. Said Dome spokesman David Annesley: "This discovery is going to mean a great deal to everyone exploring in the Beaufort. It proves the fact that there is oil up there."

—GILLIAN STEWARD *in Calgary*

Extending the IBM sandbox

International Business Machines Corp. (IBM) took another huge step last week in its drive to become an aggressive competitor in all areas of computing and communications. In its first 100-per-cent acquisition in more than two decades the New Jersey-based firm bought out the Rolm Corp., a Silicon Valley-based maker of private branch exchanges (PBXs)—telephone switching systems that can link voice and data in a single network. The price of the takeover: $1.3 billion (U.S.).

The surprise buy-out signalled that IBM is intent on competing against American Telephone and Telegraph Co., the telecommunications giant, for leadership in the burgeoning automated office market. Rolm, in which IBM had previously held a 23-per-cent stake, is a pioneer in manufacturing PBXs. Founded fifteen years ago by four maverick entrepreneurs in an abandoned prune shed, Rolm has since grown to sales of $659.7 million in the past year and profits of $35.5 million in 1983. In the $3-billion U.S. market, Rolm holds a 19-per-cent share, vs. 28 per cent for AT&T and 19 per cent for Canada's Northern Telecom.

For IBM, the takeover is part of an expansion that began after the U.S. government dropped an antitrust suit against the company in 1982, which accused IBM of using monopoly tactics in the computer industry. Once content to ride on its dominance in large computers, IBM has since then plunged successfully into the personal computer market pioneered by Apple Computers Inc., Commodore International Ltd. and other small firms. And just two days before its bid for Rolm, IBM introduced two new lines of personal computer software—products that the company has long left mainly to others.

Such moves indicate an ever-widening strategy by IBM to leave no line of business uncontested. The key battle will be with AT&T, which itself has been liberated by its recent corporate divestiture to compete on IBM's home turf in computers. AT&T spokesmen had no immediate comment last week on the Rolm takeover, but the buy-out was no doubt disconcerting to the entire telecommunications industry. As Otis T. Bradley, a technology analyst for the investment firm of Alex Brown & Sons puts it, "[IBM's managers] have been saying for a while that it is their intention to be the biggest player in every sandbox." The Rolm connection is an indication that IBM means business.

—LENNY GLYNN *in New York*

CANDU's Turkish Connection

It was a disappointing setback for federal Crown corporation Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd (AECL). After lobbying for more than two years to sell Turkey a $1-billion, 600 megawatt CANDU nuclear reactor plant, AECL officials learned last week that the Turkish government had dramatically changed the terms of the deal. During a trip to West Germany, which is competing against Canada—and its South Korean partner in the deal, Korea Heavy Industries and Construction Co.—for the contract, Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal announced that his country no longer wanted to buy a reactor. Instead, Turkey wants the country that wins the contract to build, pay for and operate the plant, the Turks would simply buy electricity from it. The successful company, reasoned the prime minister, would recover its investment by selling the electricity.

AECL officials remained silent on the future of the deal last week, saying in a prepared statement only that the company refused to comment on discussions related to its marketing. But Donald Douglas, general manager of the Organization of CANDU Industries, which represents 40 Canadian firms that supply components for AECL reactors, was more forthcoming. Said Douglas: "It would seem to be a very difficult proposal for West Germany or Canada to agree to. I do not think we are that desperate. There is a point beyond which no sensible person would go to make a sale."

Turkey's change of heart took place at a bad time for AECL and its 6,500 employees. AECL has not made a reactor sale since 1979, when it sold two CANDUs for $2 billion to Romania. Prior to that it had sold reactors to South Korea in 1976, to Argentina in 1974, to Pakistan in 1964 and to India in 1963. According to Douglas, in the past three years Canadian nuclear suppliers have cut their work force substantially, to about 30,000 employees, as orders for the Korean, Romanian and a few Canadian reactors were filled. But Douglas argued that the blame for the lack of new sales should not be placed on AECL. He faulted the recent worldwide recession, which depressed demand for electricity by industries and compounded the financial problems of developing nations that otherwise would have ordered reactors.

AECL's efforts to sell Turkey a reactor became jeopardized when Turkey abruptly changed the terms

In the wake of an accident at Pickering, Ont., in August, 1983, involving faulty pressure tubes in a reactor, critics charged that CANDU sales would suffer. But AECL officials vigorously defend the reliability of CANDUs. Of the 317 reactors operating worldwide, 18 are CANDUs, and four of those placed in the top 10 in terms of reliability of performance last year.

AECL still wants to make sales to Egypt and Indonesia and to provide another reactor to South Korea, which is expected to open the bidding this fall. But for now, they are privately puzzling over the sudden turn of events in Turkey. For his part, Douglas contends that the Turkish government—encouraged by the fierce competition for reactor sales between French, West German, American and Canadian suppliers—is simply trying to determine how good a deal they can win in a buyer's market. "Any country trying to buy a reactor right now is in a pretty good situation," he said. "They are seeing how far they could go." For AECL, Turkey may have already gone too far. —JAMES FLEMING, *with correspondents' reports.*



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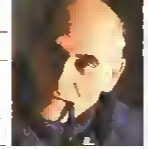
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The diplomat who breaks the rules

By Peter C. Newman

The Reagan-Mulroney meeting went so well it made you proud to be North American,' remarked Paul Robinson privately after last week's summit meeting. He managed to encapsulate in one telling phrase both the event's genuine accomplishments and its subsequent fears that we may become North Americans instead of Canadians.

An Illinois-born millionaire who made his money by selling insurance and his political reputation by collecting money for U.S. President Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign, Robinson has broken the diplomatic rule of Saying Nothing, Nicely. Since he was named ambassador to Canada three years ago he has been as outspoken as Joan Rivers on a roll.

"If we Americans and Canadians can't talk together, then who the hell *can* we talk to?" he wants to know. "I speak out so you'll know what we think. That doesn't mean Canadians ought to do anything because we say so, but it's important for you to know how we feel." The constant media attacks on the ambassador have not mellowed his approach. "There was this fellow in Alberta when I rode in the 1982 Stampede parade. He was about 75, big hands, broad shoulders, straw hat so you'd know he was a rancher, and he came up, shook my hand and told me, 'I don't care what you say—just keep saying it.'"

That is not a mandate most Canadians would grant the provocative ambassador, who makes waves even when he is praising our politicians. "I don't want to sound like some closet Liberal," he confided during the recent election campaign, "but we really have some very good friends in the party, including John Turner. There's no question, though, that our basic principles coincide more strongly with the Conservatives'. Mulroney and Turner are the best two men I've seen contend for public office in my lifetime, and I'm 54. You take Reagan and Carter. I rank Carter as a 3 and Reagan as a 9 or 10—but you've got a couple of 9s with Brian and John."

Robinson is ecstatic about the Mulroney government's proposed changes in the Foreign Investment Review Agency and the National Energy Program. "Any sensible man must honestly say that Canada should have the right to determine what's in its best interest," he admits. "It was the bureaucratic approach and the extraterritorial reach of these measures that created such a bone in our throats. I'm frankly convinced that the Trudeau government, if it had to do it over again, would do it differently." As far as acid rain is concerned, Robinson retreats into the standard Republican position of advocating more research before any major commitments are made. Then he contends that U.S. industry and government has already spent $150 billion to comply with existing clean-air legislation.



Robinson: more elephants

He is writing a book on American-Canadian relations and he believes that the difference that counts between the two countries is the perception of risk as an expense instead of an opportunity. "There's a tendency for Canadians to rely too much on government. Look at the way the West was developed. On the American side, we went out and built our herds, then demanded the railways come and take them away. We shot holes in the sky, sold whisky to the Indians and all that kind of stuff. In Canada the towns followed after the CPR and after the banks. That developed different philosophies."

Another difference is the two countries' attitudes on defence, and Robinson is not shy about advising Ottawa to raise military expenditures. He advocates immediate adoption of the second patrol frigate construction program, the stationing of another full army brigade in Europe and the arming of our CF-18s with four instead of two Sparrow missiles. At one recent bilateral meeting Robinson became so eloquent on the need for more naval ships that the senior Canadian official present suggested it might be appropriate if one of the new frigates were named after the American ambassador—then caught himself, remembering aloud that all the ships will be christened after cities. To which Robinson replied, "You could always rename one of your cities."

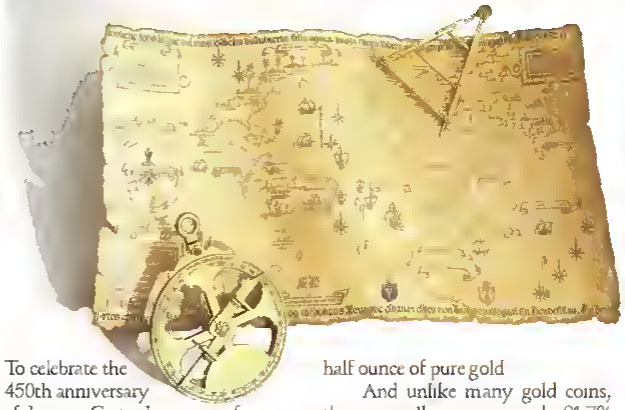
He believes multinational corporations should have political dimensions, acting as great instruments of imperialism, like the original Hudson's Bay Co., but charges that at the moment most American companies "are too damn big and don't know what the hell it's all about." The ambassador won't speculate on the direction of the free trade discussion but does not believe in the need for a common market. "Canada is a great country and no longer needs to debate its national identity," he says. "We went through all that rubbish in the 1960s." Then he adds, "Well, I suppose it's all right to keep debating this stuff, as long as you don't take it too seriously."

Robinson was posted to Canada at a time when the U.S. flag was regularly being burned by protesters on Parliament Hill and he is pleased at improvements in the climate between the two countries. He insists that the relationship between Trudeau and Reagan was always a good one, even if both leaders' officials frequently sniped at each other. But he regards Brian Mulroney as "a natural for the president" and wants to set up a state visit to the United States for the Canadian leader in 1985, with Reagan returning the favor in 1986. He is also working on a scheme to advise Ottawa on how to use businessmen as advisers in the transition period, an idea that worked well for the American president four years ago.

"You know this business about us being an elephant and you being a mouse? That really irritates me," he says, poised for the inevitable bon mot. "I always thought we were both elephants. There's just more elephants in our herd."

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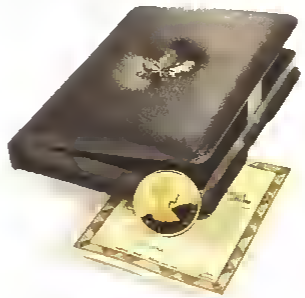


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A new season full of guns and glamor

By Brian D. Johnson

As pay TV and video cassettes lure viewers away from mainstream broadcasts, the American networks have countered with the most brazen display of guns and glamor in the history of the medium. With a fall roster of 24 new series—21 of which will appear on Canadian channels—the networks have remoulded television's most familiar clichés, injected them with higher-voltage violence than ever and sweetened them with the latest designs in high fashion and rock video. Nine of the new U.S. imports are crime shows, most of them violent, five are situation comedies, the rest are candy-floss fantasies featuring models, musicians, journalists, angels, cupids and extraterrestrials. At the same time, many of the old stars are back with fresh cars, careers—and clothes.

Aside from escalated violence, the most striking component of the new shows is glitter. Indeed, one has even called itself *Glitter* (ABC/CTV)—a flaccid drama about a *People*-type magazine where the reporters pair off before heading out on assignment. *Cover Up* (CBS), which appears on eight independent channels across Canada, cunningly combines high fashion and violent espionage by teaming a female photographer with a male model to chase terrorists through tropical climes. In both shows quality is only skin deep.

The most immaculately groomed new series is *Paper Dolls* (ABC and 10 Canadian independents), an evening soap that streamlines the *Dallas/Dynasty* formula to an insidious degree. Once again empires clash within a web of family intrigue, but in *Paper Dolls* the commodity at stake is beauty itself, as rival cosmetic firms compete to control a stable of fashion models. Lloyd Bridges plays a cosmetics tycoon with blue-chip integrity, and Morgan Fairchild provides the malice as Racine, a ruthless agent who promotes pretty faces. While hair-flicking models pose to the rhythm of pop hits, their photo sessions turn into mock rock videos.

Even the crime shows are style conscious this fall. *Partners in Crime* (NBC/Global) stars Lorn Anderson and Lynda Carter as a pair of high-heeled private detectives. It lacks excitement and humor, but it does have fancy fashions.



Kramer and Dryer in Hunter: a violent response to competition

More sophisticated is *Miami Vice*, a rare stab at realism for a medium awash with fantasy. A black New York police officer (Philip Michael Thomas) teams up with a white Miami counterpart (Don Johnson) to scour the shadows for drug dealers. The gritty, violent show creates emotional tension with a cinematic look and a commanding musical score.

By contrast, *Hunter*, another product from the NBC arsenal, is a celebration of violence without taste. A deliberate clone of the Clint Eastwood *Dirty Harry* movie, the program stars former football player Fred Dryer as a trigger-happy policeman with a street-walking partner nicknamed the Brass Cupcake (Stepfanie Kramer). *Jessie* (ABC), a more genteel approach to the same format, stars Lindsay Wagner as a police psychiatrist who lends her brains and beauty to a car-chasing brute from the San Francisco force.

Amid the din of gunfire and squealing tires, several of the new sitcoms offer short-term relief, notably *The Bill Cosby Show* (NBC), which topped last week's U.S. Nielsen ratings. In a funny and endearing comedy about the exasperation of fatherhood, Cosby plays an obstetrician married to a lawyer with four children. The dilemma of child care also provides the premise for *Charles in Charge* (CBS/CBC), a passable comedy about a college student (Scott Baio) who works as a live-in nanny. The U.S. networks have a habit of duplicating trends. ABC also has a sitcom about a male domestic, called *Who's the Boss?* (ABC/Global), in which a single mother (Judith Light) hires an ex-jock (Tony Danza) to help with the housework. But the broad sexual innuendo between them is all situation and no comedy.

One of the more offbeat diversions in the new schedule is a nonviolent crime show, *Murder She Wrote* (CBS/CBC), a humorous whodunit starring a charming and frumpy Angela Lansbury as a Cape Cod mystery writer who cracks cases in her spare time.

The Canadian networks, especially the CBC, are balking at some of the more vulgar imports. The CBC, CTV and Global have bought few of the violent crime shows—they have gone to independent stations, including CFCF in Montreal, CHCH in Hamilton and CFAC in Calgary. As well, the CBC is reducing U.S. content by one hour a week, leaving a Canadian-content level of 75 per cent,

and aims to remove all U S programming from its schedule within five years

The CBC haa expanded homegrown drama with television movies, specials and 13 episodes of a new half-hour series called *Danger Bay* Coproduced with the Disney Channel, an American pay TV service, *Danger Bay* is an action-adventure show that breaks the cardinal rules of the form its stories are nonviolent, educational and based on scrupulous research rather than wild fantasy. Its hero (Donnelly Rhodes) is a widowed veterinarian at the Vancouver Aquarium who joins a vivacious pilot (Deborah Wakeman) in rescue missions up and down the coast and Interior of British Columbia In the first episode a rabid dog aboard a sailboat bites one of the vet's children, and the doctor, brimming with stern advice about rabies, mobilizes a speedboat, a hovercraft and a seaplane to search for the animal Whether or not Canadians will warm to such fare when they are addicted to *The A-Team*'s violence is questionable

In the late-afternoon slot the CBC will expand its children's programming with several new series, including *The Elephant Show*, starring the remarkable musical trio of Sharon, Lois and Bram They play tunes that do not cloy in adult ears, demonstrate barnyard craft techniques—including making a fiddle from a cornstalk—and make jokes based on such wordplay as "How Jack and the beans talk" With a stuffed elephant as host and a child cast consisting of 30 amateurs, the show is a delight

For its part, the Global network has beaten the CBC at its own game with at least one laudable foray into drama Coproduced with the National Film Board and Telefilm Canada, it commissioned Oscar-winning Atlantis Films to produce eight half-hour dramas adapted from Canadian short stories by authors including Mordecai Richler, Sinclair Ross and Morley Callaghan Well acted, sharply directed and evocatively shot, they are, for the most part, unhappy stories with cruel endings *Cages*, based on a tale by Guy Vanderhaeghe about a miner and his two sons, presents a gut-wrenching vision of working-class life A stark contrast to Global's regular schedule, the stories make splendid telavision

U S networks, unlike their Canadian counterparts, can afford the luxury of creating failures and then cancelling them. Of the 23 new shows introduced last fall, only six survive in the new season's lineup Media Buying Services, a Toronto-based agent for TV advertisers, predicts at least 10 of the 24 new U S imports will die before the season is over No matter how tough the style, it seems, the fall fashions in guns and glamor are as disposable as ever ✪



Wooldridge and Malik: hopelessly cornered by centuries of social represssion

Love in a crumbling colony

THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN
CBC *Oct. 7*

Films as diverse as *Gandhi* and *Bhowani Junction* have portrayed British colonial India's twilight years, when despair and moral confusion plagued both the rulers and the ruled But television has provided the most penetrating and visually rivetting effort. *The Jewel in the Crown*, a 15-hour series by Britain's Granada Television, which produced the elegantly decadent 13-hour epic *Brideshead Revisited*. The $16-million *Jewel*, which the CBC plans to begin broadcasting Oct. 7, is based on *The Raj Quartet*, four novels by the late English author Paul Scott His fatalistic story follows the lives of English and Indian characters from 1942—when Gandhi launched his anti-British "Quit India" campaign—to independence in 1947 The TV adaptation, wisely abandoning the novels' dense, overlapping narrative, tells the story clearly and chronologically, and directors Christopher Morahan and Jim O'Brien make lavish use of India's ageless beauty to re-create Scott's poetic vision of the turmoil in India four decades ago

The story revolves around the rape of an Englishwoman The first two episodes, which tell her story, are the best in the series. Daphne Manners (Susan Wooldridge) is a bumbling nearsighted but charming Englishwoman who ignores the warnings of Ronald Merrick, a racist English police officer (played to poisonous perfection by Tim Pigott-Smith), and falls in love with Hari Kumar (Art Malik), an English-educated Indian After an uneasy friendship, Daphne and Hari make love in Scott's fictional, haunted Bibighar Gardens Six Indian thugs spy on them, then brutally gang-rape Daphne The fate of the two lovers—including Merrick's torture and false imprisonment of Hari for the crime—acts as a double catalyst: it polarizes the other characters and it leads to a round of ill-starred weddings, births and military skirmishes

The message is bleak, but each episode, deftly paced and brilliantly acted, leaves the viewer exhilarated As is so often the case in the best of British acting, physical gestures contribute enormously Judy Parfitt as the aloof alcoholic, Mildred Layton, emanates pure evil without saying a word In a gut-wrenching portrait of class prejudice, she smirks spitefully at lesser beings while sucking silently on her gin-and-tonics And Dame Peggy Asheroft, whose character is often the subject of Mildred's disdain, gives one of the outstanding performances of her career, she plays Barbie Batchelor, a garrulous, mentally unstable English missionary who takes refuge in her room, where she asks God why he is so deaf in the face of her pleas for an end to the cruelty

More than any other actor, Ashcroft gives the series continuity and conscience, adding a simmering sense of panic and a trenchant immediacy to a vanished historical era. With such performances, *The Jewel in the Crown* distinguishes itself as the rarest of jewels in the fall television drama season

—ANN WALMSLEY



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Countdown for a Canadian astronaut

By Patricia Hluchy

Marc Garneau's life began to change irrevocably one warm July evening last year when he was relaxing with a bottle of beer on the sun deck behind his Ottawa home. The 35-year-old Canadian Armed Forces engineering specialist was idly flipping through *The Citizen* when he noticed a National Research Council (NRC) "help wanted" advertisement for Canadian astronauts. After a moment's reflection the naval commander announced to his wife that he was going to try for a spot in space. Recalled Jacqueline Garneau: "I thought it was sort of a joke, but Marc said, 'This could be a dream come true.'" This week Garneau is scheduled to realize that dream when he becomes the first Canadian to vault into outer space aboard the United States' space shuttle Challenger. At the same time, his flight represents a giant leap for Canada's 22-year-old space program. Declared Garneau: "I am proud to be the first Canadian to go up. It's a great honor, and I'm a very lucky person."

Canada's first astronaut will have little time to consider the historic significance of his mission during the 8½-day flight. Soon after mission 41-G lifts off from Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, Fla. (scheduled for 7:04 a.m. on Oct. 5), Garneau will work through a list of 10 experiments ranging from motion sickness tests to the development of a computer system that will help astronauts to manoeuvre such large objects as satellites. Before the shuttle landing, scheduled for 12:24 p.m. on Oct. 13, he will have spent almost 65 hours on the experiments, with another 33 hours devoted to helping the six Americans—including two women—with their tests and in preparing meals. "There will probably be a good 12 hours of solid work daily," Garneau told *Maclean's* during a break from training at the Johnson Space Center, the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) facility near Houston. Garneau will still have time to listen to tape-recorded music by Johann Sebastian Bach and Antonio Vivaldi through headphones.

Leisurely moments in space will be rare for a man whose progress from lounging in a deck chair to the peak of a space program, which will cost Canadian taxpayers $150 million over the next three years, has been swift. In part, his ascent reflects the increasing specialization of space travel. Canada's first astronaut is a scientist instead of a pilot, a passenger aboard NASA's 13th shuttle flight in the past three years. U.S. citizens may note his presence aboard Challenger, but Garneau will be sharing cabin space—and publicity—with the third American woman in space, mission specialist Kathryn Sullivan. As well, 33-year-old Sally Ride, the first American female astronaut, will be a crew member on the flight.



Garneau (left), Ride and shuttle crew members vaulting into space with Vivaldi

But Garneau, the son of retired Brig.-Gen. André Garneau, clearly has the right stuff for a ticket aboard the shuttle Challenger. When he graduated from the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., in 1970 with a bachelor of physics engineering, Garneau, a bilingual native of Quebec City, won a trophy for displaying the best combination of athletic ability and academic excellence. A navy cadet at 16, Garneau excelled at swimming, water polo and as a linebacker in football; indeed, the now-defunct Montreal Alouettes asked him to try out for the team, but Garneau chose to continue his studies instead. The result: he won an Athlone scholarship which enabled him to get a PhD in electrical engineering at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London in 1973. And before the NRC chose him in December, 1983, from 4,300 applicants to be one of the six Canadian astronauts, he was the Canadian navy's leading design authority for communications and



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Garneau has often tempered his academic dedication with a fine sense of mischief. As a cadet on board a ship anchored off the west coast of Vancouver Island, he and some mates shimmied down the anchor cable after dark and tried to swim to shore in the frigid waters for a night on the town. The ship's radar picked up the swimming sailors, and they were confined to quarters for a week. Garneau later satisfied his thirst for adventure with skydiving and scuba diving and through two transatlantic voyages as one of 13 crew members on a 59-foot sailboat. Recalled his father: "He was always adventurous and very curious about everything, always looking into things and getting into trouble, sometimes, doing it."

In preparation for his latest adventure—and the experiments aboard the shuttle—Garneau has endured hours of tumbling and rotating in devices designed to study motion sickness. And during the past two months Garneau and Dr. Robert Thirsk, the backup Canadian astronaut on the flight, have completed a crash course in space travel at the Johnson Space Center. It included three flights on a KC-135, a converted Boeing 707 which flies in a zigzag pattern to create a weightless environment during its descents. Garneau, who had never flown a plane before training as an astronaut, has also spent many hours in simulators which recreate the noise and shaking of blast-off and re-entry. And during the past month—including the final 10 days before the mission, spent in quarantine—he has had numerous 16-hour shifts in a replica of the shuttle, rehearsing his duties with his crewmates. Said Garneau: "The first thing I think about when I wake up in the morning and the last thing I think about at night are related to my mission."

That intense pace comes largely as a result of NASA's decision last February to include a third shuttle flight with a Canadian astronaut aboard, before two other missions scheduled for 1986. As well, the shortened waiting period means that some of Garneau's experiments will be little more than introductions to more extensive efforts in 1986, when two shuttle flights will carry Canadians. In one experiment Garneau, working with U.S. Navy oceanographer Paul Scully-Power, is prepared to induce nausea in himself if necessary in order to examine motion sickness, which afflicts nearly half of shuttle astronauts. In another study Garneau will inaugurate tests on the NRC's space vision system by operating video cameras filming targets attached to a satellite which Challenger will deploy. That computer system, which will be ready for testing in two years, will make it easier for astronauts to capture satellites or to assemble structures in space using Canadarm, the $110-million, Canadian-made robotic arm.

On their first day aloft, the American crew members on Challenger, using the Canadarm, will launch the NASA's Earth Radiation Budget Satellite, a device built to measure radiation exchanges between the earth, sun, atmosphere and space. And, as the shuttle orbits 140 to 220 miles above the earth, Sullivan and fellow mission specialist David Leestma will put on space suits and go out onto the shuttle's payload bay. There, they will test an experimental satellite refuelling system, performing delicate fuel transfers on four different occasions with hydrozine, a highly volatile rocket propellant, and a simulated satellite.



Heading for space, the first Canadian

As Garneau prepared to become the second foreign passenger aboard an American space shuttle—West German physicist Ulf Merbold went up in the space shuttle Columbia last December—he had only one complaint about the astronaut program: lengthy separations from his wife and eight-year-old twins, Simone and Yves. Indeed, because of the shuttle flight schedule, Garneau will celebrate his 11th wedding anniversary in space on Oct. 6, if everything goes according to plan. Still, he will have tangible reminders of his family back on Earth: he will be carrying his wife's diamond engagement ring, his daughter's silver cross pendant and a gold ring belonging to his son. He will also have the Canadian flag, the flags of the 10 provinces and a hockey puck stowed in a locker on Challenger.

Garneau will spend most of his time in the shuttle's mid-deck area, an extremely cramped space only eight feet wide, six feet long and seven feet high, which he compared to a submarine's interior. There, he will conduct most of his scientific work. He will sleep strapped into a special bag hanging from the wall. All the equipment for his experiments, including a portable computer, fits into a box about half the size of a filing cabinet drawer. Declared Garneau: "I would not be surprised if it was the most challenging drawer to package that NASA has ever faced." But a record number of crew members in a small area is another challenge for the flight's participants. Said mission commander Robert Crippen, a veteran of three earlier shuttle flights: "We are pushing it with seven people. We will have to be very conscious of not getting in each other's way."

Placing Garneau aboard flight 41-G is only part of a $4.5-million program—$1 million for the astronaut program, $3 million for the space vision system and $500,000 for the space adaptation experiments. But there is no charge for the actual ride on Challenger, that is partial repayment for the Canadarm. And Karl Doetsch, director of the Canadian Astronaut Program, argues that it is money well spent. He predicts that Canada's involvement in space will help win lucrative contracts to build parts for an $8-billion space station which the United States plans to begin building in the 1990s. Said Doetsch: "We are talking about big projects which could potentially have a tremendous commercial spinoff."

For his part, Garneau has the imminent flight, not future commercial considerations, on his mind. Poised on the edge of space he is awaiting liftoff with nonchalance. Said Garneau: "I have been through more frightening experiences than the roar and rumble of the launch. The shuttle inspires great confidence." Clearly, the same description applies to Canada's first astronaut.

HANGING

By Robert Miller

More than eight years after it was abolished in law and almost 22 years after it was last used in a double execution in Toronto's Don Jail, the hangman's rope continues to cast a grim shadow across the Canadian political landscape. It swings back and forth over the national consciousness, twisting in the bitter wind of public opinion. And it seems certain to begin tightening next month when the new Progressive Conservative-dominated Parliament assembles amid mounting pressure for a free vote on the restoration of capital punishment. The issue—with all its attendant argument and emotion—is neither dead nor buried in Canada, despite the narrow (130 to 124) parliamentary decision after an impassioned 98-hour debate in 1976 to ratify the hangman, tear down the gallows and jail first-degree murderers for a mandatory 25 years.



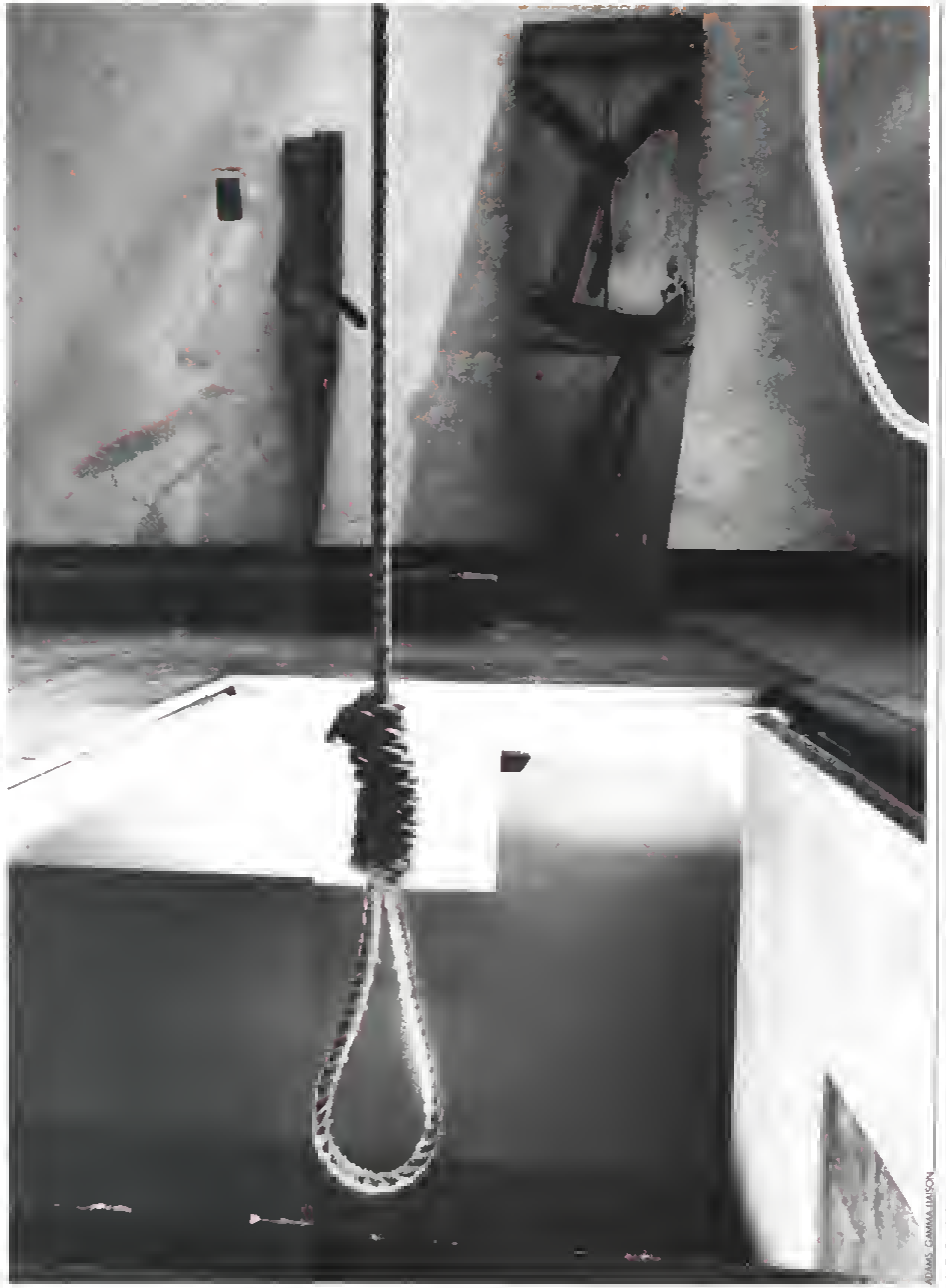
Marks: let the people decide

Vengeance: Its opponents denounce capital punishment as a barbaric act of primal vengeance by the state, and they cite the terrible possibility of hanging an innocent person. The case of Donald Marshall Jr., the 31-year-old Cape Breton Indian who served 11 years for a murder he did not commit and who last week accepted $270,000 in compensation from the Nova Scotia government, was the latest reminder that the Canadian justice system is not infallible. And the most responsible supporters of capital punishment concede that there is no proof of the often-repeated claim that it acts as a deterrent to murder.

But there is renewed clamor from individuals and organizations alike for the restoration of the death penalty in Canada, and there is evidence that politicians are listening carefully—even to the point of rethinking their own long-held views. Former Liberal cabinet minister Eric Kierans, for one, is a lifelong abolitionist who now says that he is wavering. Ontario Premier William Davis, for another, suggested on Sept. 19 that Parliament reconsider the question, saying many Canadians had "a very genuine concern" and that he would "explore my own conscience in some depth."

The demand for a return to hanging stems from a variety of developments, including a highly publicized string of recent slayings, most notably those of three Toronto-area policemen and two Manitoba prison guards; the conviction of the sociopathic mass murderer Clifford Olson, who killed 11 children in British Columbia between November, 1980, and July, 1981; and a growing public perception that a rising tide of violence is engulfing the country and ought to be combatted vigorously. Said Edmonton's Robert Lunney, president of the 525-member Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, which has repeatedly called for restoration: "There is a well-defined ground swell of public opinion favoring capital punishment." Added Metropolitan Toronto Police Chief Jack Marks, proposing a national referendum which the police chiefs' group formally requested last week: "The issue of reinstalling the death penalty should be decided by the people. It is far too important an issue for politicians, lawyers or even policemen to decide."

Because opinion polls consistently show that as many as 70 per cent of Canadians favor capital punishment for at least some murderers, many politicians agree with the police that Parliament should restore hanging. For now, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Justice Minister John Crosbie—both personally opposed to restoration—and Solicitor General Elmer MacKay—who favors it—insist that the issue has a low priority for a new government preoccupied with the economy.



ADAMS, GAMMA-LIAISON

But at the same time, Mulroney, Crosbie and MacKay all are committed to allowing, sooner or later, a free vote—in which members of Parliament are governed by their consciences rather than party discipline—on the question of capital punishment. Traditionally, Tory back-benchers have tended to support hanging, while Liberals and New Democrats have tended to oppose it. And the preponderance of Tory members in the new Commons—the party holds 211 of the 282 seats—suggests that a bill to restore hanging would pass.

Indeed, such Tory back-benchers as Bill Domm (Peterborough) and Dan McKenzie (Winnipeg-Assiniboine) are planning to mount early campaigns in caucus for such a bill. One week after the Sept. 4 election, McKenzie wrote Mulroney that the issue was too important to be left until a later parliamentary session. Said McKenzie: "Canadians expect this vote immediately to quell the rising incidence of violence in the country." But Mulroney, at his first full-scale press conference as Prime Minister, said in Ottawa on Friday that he opposed the police chiefs' idea of a national referendum, and added that pro-restorationists "ought not to expect one [a vote on such a bill] this autumn."

Obsolete: Still, the prospect of another debate and a possible reversal of the 1976 decision troubled church leaders and dismayed small-l liberals. The Canadian Council of Churches in Toronto, which represents 13 Protestant denominations, and the Ottawa-based Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops are both implacably opposed to the death penalty. Rev. Archibald McCurdy, a United Church of Canada minister and a member of the council's Inter-Church Task Force on Responsible Alternatives to the Death Penalty, said capital punishment "cannot be substantiated logically, ethically or morally." Said Roman Catholic Bishop Remi de Roo of Victoria, B.C.: "It is a form of vengeance which is obsolete in today's world." Declared Canadian Human Rights Commissioner Gordon Fairweather, a former Conservative member of Parliament: "I am appalled that this is an issue which has returned to the agenda in the 1980s. Back in 1976, I was delighted that Canada joined the ranks of the civilized."

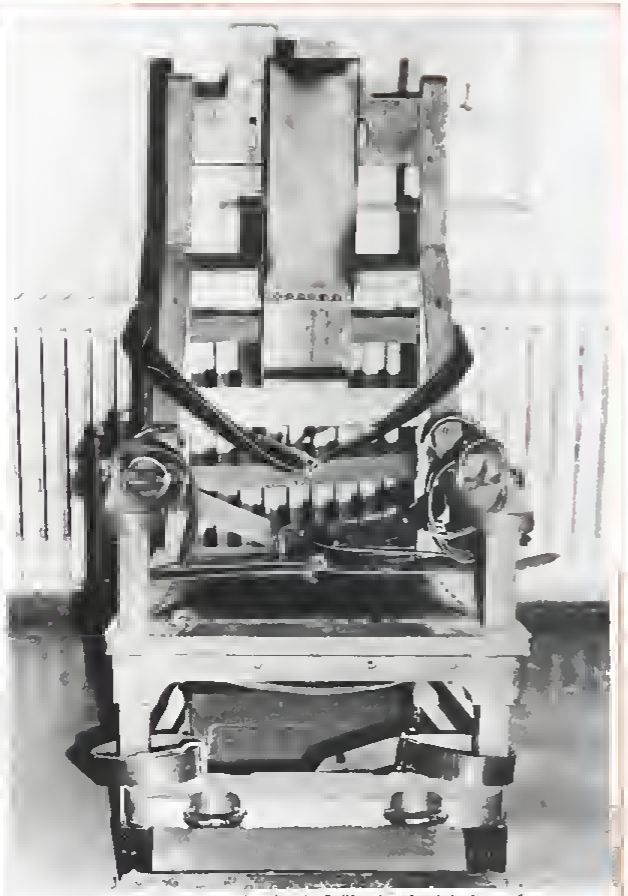
Among Western countries only Ireland, Liechtenstein and 38 of the 50 United States retain capital punishment for the crime of murder. Britain abolished hanging for all crimes except treason and piracy with violence in 1965. Since then, the British Parliament has defeated repeated attempts to restore the death penalty—the most recent of

which came in July, 1983, shortly after Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher swept back into office in a landslide. Although polls showed that British public opinion strongly favored restoration and Thatcher voted for capital punishment, the free vote was 368 to 223 against.

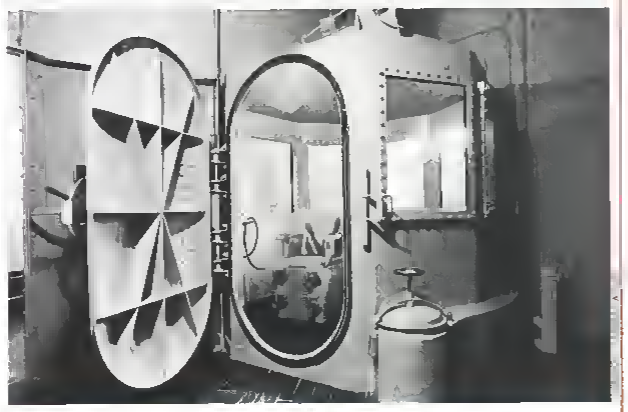
But legislators on both sides of the Atlantic have felt free to ignore public opinion on matters of personal conscience ever since English parliamentarian Edmund Burke's famous 1774 declaration that he owed it to his Bristol constituents to exercise his own judgment (page 56). Indeed, Burke was frequently quoted by Canadian MPs who chose to ignore opinion polls in favor of their own consciences during the 1976 debate, a highlight of which was then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's eloquent intervention on behalf of the abolitionists. Demanded Trudeau, who drew support from both the Tory leader of the time, Joe Clark, and Clark's predecessor as leader, Robert Stanfield: "Are we, as a society, so lacking in respect for ourselves, so lacking in hope for human betterment, so socially bankrupt that we are ready to accept state vengeance as our penal philosophy?"

Advocates: The opponents of hanging are eloquent—one British commentator describes the abolitionists as "an elitist conspiracy"—but its advocates are no less passionate and committed. They range from large and powerful lobby groups, including the police chiefs' association, various police and prison guard unions and organizations representing victims of crime to concerned individuals such as Valerie Daniels, 39, of Calgary. Daniels, who has worked in media promotion for radio stations but is currently unemployed, said that out of curiosity she attended a murder trial in January, 1983, and it changed her life. Robert Edward Brown, 32, a drifter from Athelstan, Que., and James Edward Peters, 29, a native of Beaverbank, N.S., were each sentenced to 25 years for raping and murdering two young women from the Calgary area. Daniels emerged from the court experience "quite horrified. I was angry at the vicious, brutal slayings."

Daniels wrote a letter to the editor of the *The Calgary Herald* calling for the restoration of capital punishment and subsequently got in touch with Tory MP Gordon Taylor (Bow River), who was calling for the execution of Clifford Olson. In March, 1983, Daniels began spending her Saturdays standing in downtown Calgary's Stephen Avenue Mall, collecting signatures on a petition calling for the return of capital punishment. To date, she has amassed names of 4,300 Canadians, which she has forwarded to Taylor's office.



Electric chair in Michigan; gas chamber in California: obsolete form of vengeance



Daniels quotes the Bible ("Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed"—*Genesis 9:6*) and argues that the resumption of capital punishment would act as a deterrent because murderers are cowards. "I think the individual who snatches children off the street, who leaps into a campground enclosure and who pulls up and fires on an unsuspecting police officer is a coward," she said. "You have no choice but to stretch that neck to save another one."

Deterrent: But many criminologists and other experts disagree, among them Montreal psychologist Paul Williams, executive director of the John Howard Society of Quebec, which deals with offenders' problems both inside and outside prison. Said Williams: "In 20 years I never encountered a single convicted murderer for whom capital punishment would have worked as a deterrent. Almost always, murders are committed in a moment of uncontrollable emotion. The concern about capital punishment comes later." Similarly, Fredericton criminologist Bernard Henhaffer, 66, who once witnessed a hanging in New Brunswick, declared: "I was always opposed to capital punishment, but that experience firmed up my views as nothing else might have done. The sheer horror of seeing a person's life taken from him is an experience one is not likely to forget."

Like most criminologists, Henheffer, a former professor of criminology and penology at the University of New Brunswick, rejects the deterrent theory. And even Edmonton's Chief Lunney conceded: "We cannot produce proof [of deterrence]. Statistically, it does not appear to be there."

But he and most other policemen in Canada want the courts to have the capital punishment option. One reason: unhappiness with the 25-year mandatory sentence, which replaced hanging as the maximum penalty in Canada. Said Lunney: "The corrections people, the psychiatrists, the social scientists who work with the offenders who have been sentenced to these lengthy terms are now telling us that they cannot handle that, the prisoners cannot handle that, the system cannot handle that." For his part, Henheffer agreed, saying: "Imagine the hopelessness of someone confined to prison until 2009. How do you deal with that individual?" Jaime Llambias, a Montreal sociologist who visited the maximum security penitentiary at Dorchester, N.B., last year, told *Maclean's* that at least three "lifers" had declared: "This is worse than death. It is not worth living under these circumstances." But many of the 1,530 inmates currently serving life sentences in Canada do not share that bleak view (page 54).





Turpin, Lucas (below)

The capital punishment arguments, pro and con, are being put forward against a statistical background that gives little comfort to the restorationists. The Canadian homicide rate per 100,000 of population reached its zenith in 1975, the year before Parliament abolished hanging. Since then the rate, which includes manslaughter and infanticide as well as murder, has declined to its 1983 level of 2.74 from 3.09 deaths for every 100,000 Canadians. There were 701 homicides in 1975 and 682 last year. From 1967 to 1976 Canada experimented with a partial ban on hanging, restricting the capital punishment option to judges sentencing persons for killing policemen and prison guards. But in the five years before Parliament's 1976 abolition decision there were 19 police killings, compared to 18 in the subsequent five-year period.

Still, the late-summer series of murderous attacks on policemen triggered widespread outrage within the media and police forces as well as among the general public. Newspapers began editorial campaigns for the restoration of capital punishment. The police, supported by colleagues from across North America, staged massive funerals for their fallen colleagues. Roughly 4,000 policemen mounted an honor guard Sept. 21 in the Ontario community of Milton, 90 km northwest of Toronto, to pay tribute to Metropolitan Toronto Police Const. David Dunmore, 40, who was slain Sept. 18 by 18-year-old Gary White in a wild shootout. White, dressed in army fatigues and carrying a Belgian-made semiautomatic rifle and 85 rounds of ammunition, was driving a stolen car, apparently on his way to shoot a former girlfriend. He managed to wound two policemen besides Dunmore before he himself was shot and killed. Said an anguished Chief Marks, before renewing his call for a return to hanging: "What am I going to tell his [Dunmore's] wife?"

Earlier, there were large honor guards at the funerals of Peel Regional Police Const. Dwayne Barry Piukkala, 24, stabbed on Aug. 26 while investigating a reported apartment burglary in Brampton, Ont., just west of Toronto, and for York Regional Police Const. Douglas Tribbling, 47, shot five times while responding to a burglary call on Aug. 19 in Markham, Ont., on Toronto's northeastern outskirts. Police said Piukkala's assailant shot himself with the policeman's pistol after mortally wounding Piukkala with a knife. Tribbling's killer or killers remained at large.

Outrage: There was further public outrage after two Nepean, Ont., policemen, Const. Robin Easey, 30, and Const. Ralph Erfle, 27, were seriously wounded in an ambush in a suburban Ottawa shopping centre on Sept. 1. The constables interrupted three men preparing to rob an armored car. Easey remains in grave condition in a coma. His wife, Glennis, told *Maclean's* that she had not come to terms with the question of capital punishment. "Honest to God, I don't know if death is good enough," she said. "I am still fighting for my husband's life. I just take it day by day. I am up there at the hospital all day, by his side. I play his favorite music, wear his favorite perfume, wear his favorite color, talk to him about the children, things he knows about and likes. Then I go home for when the kids come home."

Erfle killed one of Easey's assailants, Mario Rouleau, 23, of Quebec City, at the scene. Four days later, police raided a Quebec City apartment and charged Robert Gagné, 29, with attempted murder. But a third suspect remained at large.

Although some proponents of capital punishment often cite police and prison guards as two occupations requiring special protection under the law, the police themselves disagree. Said Edmonton's Lunney: "The Canadian police community has never been of the opinion that capital punishment should be an option reserved only for the killing of police officers or correctional guards. We feel that there are other cases, very extreme cases of murder, for which the capital punishment option would be appropriate." Said Wayne MacKay of Halifax, a Dalhousie University law

professor specializing in criminology who is an opponent of capital punishment: "I have a difficult time setting up categories with punishments. Police are on the line, but do we want to say that a policeman's life is worth more than someone else's?" Said Jamca Hackler of Edmonton, a University of Alberta criminologist: "Police have a boring job. They do not have a dangerous one. They don't take the risks miners do."

Supporting that view, Toronto lawyer Leo Adler, writing in the Sept. 27 edition of *The Globe and Mail*, declared: "Police officers are unique in our society and any violence they suffer rightly deserves to be examined with the aim of lessening their exposure to danger. But we must also keep in mind that as a profession a police officer is statistically safer than a fireman, a miner, a sailor or virtually any other employment that has an element of risk in it."

Torture: But Halifax criminal lawyer Joel Pink said he believes in capital punishment. "I think everyone who kills a police officer or a prison guard deserves to be hanged," he said. "Dorchester pen is an absolute hellhole. Put a guy in jail for 25 years without parole, that's more like torture. Prison can be a slow death."

But so can hanging. Since Confederation, there have been more than 700 hangings in Canada—the only method of legal execution ever used in the country—and not all of them were swift and efficient. In some cases hangmen have miscalculated to the point where condemned persons have strangled or, as in the case of Thomasina Sarac, who was 40 lb. heavier than the hangman expected at her 1935 execution in Montreal, were decapitated.

Indeed, hanging may be one of the most cruel and drawn-out forms of legal execution used in modern times. According to Henry Schwarzschild of New York City, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's committee opposing capital punishment, "If Canada reintroduces the death penalty, I can hardly believe they will go with the gallows. It is such an unsatisfactory method. It is so ghastly. Often it doesn't work properly and the guy just hangs there, choking to death, and the sheriff has to jump on his shoulders to kill him. It is so messy. In a hanging, the victim defecates and urinates over himself. It is seamy stuff."

Of the 38 states that retain capital punishment—the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that capital punishment was not unconstitutional on the grounds of the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishment"—only Delaware, New Hampshire, Washington and Montana allow the gallows. Furthermore, Washington and Montana offer the alternative of a lethal injection, and there have been no executions in New Hampshire and Delaware for more than 40 years. Of the others, 16 states use the electric chair, eight use the gas chamber, eight use lethal injections exclusively, and Utah and Idaho offer the condemned a choice between the firing squad and a lethal injection.

In the eight years since the Supreme Court ruling, before which there was a nine-year U.S. moratorium on executions, a total of 25 men have been put to death. During the same period, U.S. courts have imposed more than 4,000 death sentences, more than half of which were overturned or reduced on appeal. Now, said Schwarzschild, "the rate of executions is climbing very sharply." But so is the population on so-called "death rows" in U.S. prisons, where an estimated 1,400 men and women await an uncertain fate. Among them is a 51-year-old grandmother, Marjie Velma Barfield, who was convicted of killing her fiancé with arsenic and whose death sentence became an issue in the North Carolina senatorial race between veteran Republican Jesse Helms and his Democratic opponent, Gov. James B. Hunt, Jr. Barfield is sentenced to die—by her choice of gas or lethal injection—on Nov. 2, four days before the election, and Hunt finally announced last week that he would not intervene to commute the sentence. If her execution proceeds, she will be the first woman put to death in the United States in 22 years.

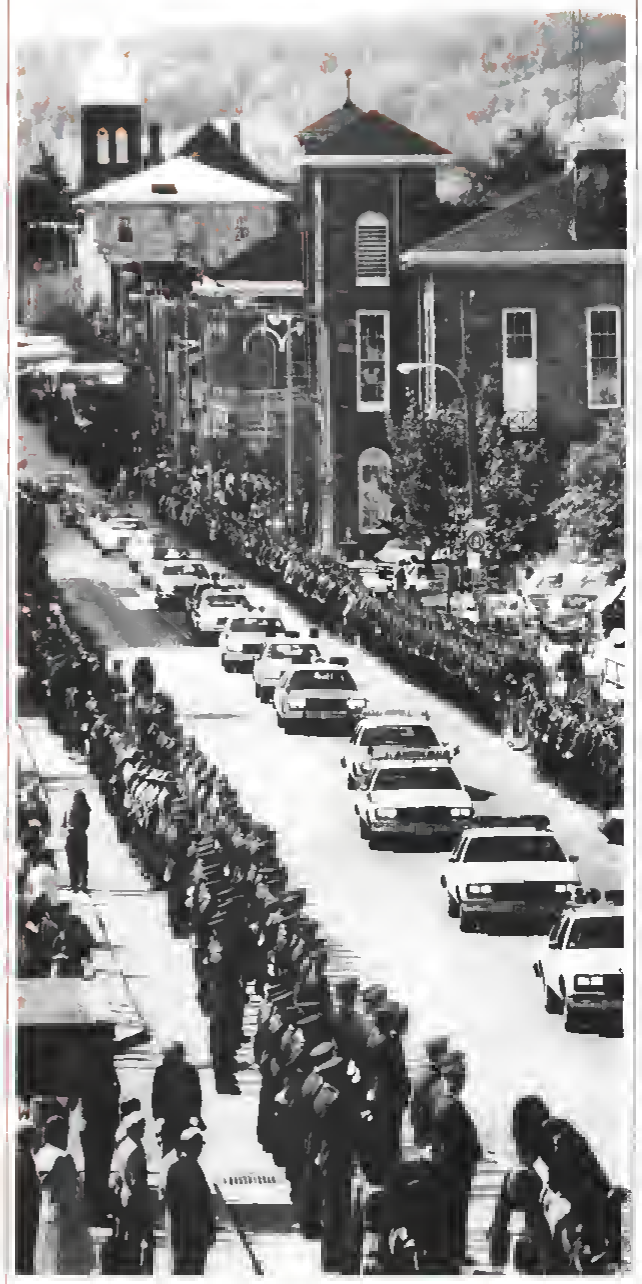


Olson: 'it's not safe'

Death row: Also on death row in the United States is at least one Canadian, Ronald Smith, 26, a native of Red Deer, Alta., who was convicted and sentenced to hang in Montana for the Aug. 4, 1983, slaying of two young American Indians. Another Canadian, Stephen Beattie, of Hamilton, Ont., was sentenced to death in Florida for murdering his business partner and two women in 1978. He subsequently committed suicide, in 1981, by hoarding and then taking an overdose of prescription drugs. In a bizarre twist, while Beattie was on death row, his brother, Conservative MP Duncan Beattie (Hamilton Mountain), declared his commitment to the idea of restoring capital punishment in Canada. Duncan Beattie lost his seat in the 1981 general election but won it back again last month, and last week he reiterated his support for a return to hanging in Canada. Said Beattie: "The demand from caucus could be so loud that the government will have no choice but to bring it before the House within the next year."

If and when the Mulroney government allows a parliamentary debate leading to a free vote on the question of capital punishment, the possibility remains that the Supreme Court of Canada might overrule any subsequent death sentences. The new Charter of Rights and Freedoms specifically precludes "cruel and unusual punishment." Said Senator Eugene Forsey, a constitutional authority and an abolitionist: "The government could put the question to the Supreme Court or let it come before the court in some particular case, when someone was about to be executed." In fact, the Supreme Court ruled on the same issue in 1976, when it determined that hanging was not cruel and unusual punishment under the terms of Canada's Bill of Rights. The difference now is the passage of the Charter in 1982.

Former solicitor general Warren Allmand, a Montreal Liberal, spearheaded the abolitionists' case in 1976. Last week he recalled the drama leading up to passage of the abolition bill. Said Allmand: "It passed on July 14, 1976—Bastille Day, which I thought was rather significant. It was an important bill and there was a lot of excitement. I had said that if it was defeated, I would resign because you cannot administer a bill which you are opposed to. There was a lot riding on it." There were 11 men on death row across Canada at the time whose cases were in suspension. Added Allmand: "If the bill had been defeated, some of them would have been subject to hanging. Some had killed policemen and guards, and their sentences could not have been commuted." He has not changed his view on the subject. "You cannot run a country on revenge," he said.



Dunmore honor guard: a wild shootout

Indeed, the conflict between intellect and passion is one that has characterized previous debates on capital punishment and can be expected to characterize the next. Said Dalhousie University's MacKay: "I think as a society we take a step back when we advocate the death penalty. Intellectually, this is the position I take. But I have a young baby and other kids, and if anybody ever murdered them, I don't know what my position would be—which, of course, is the classic attack on liberals." Added Montreal criminal lawyer Pierre Poupart: "Except just after the crime, when any human being would revolt and try to kill the murderer, life goes on. After a while the family realizes that all that could be done had been done."

Victims: But Edmonton real estate agent Gary Rosenfeldt, whose 16-year-old son, Daryn, was one of Clifford Olson's victims, argued that "there is a very small percentage of the population who are bleeding hearts." Added Rosenfeldt, who is currently president of the Alberta chapter of the crime victims' rights organization, Victims of Violence: "I cannot believe the thinking of these people that violence breeds violence. I believe that when you put a convicted murderer to death you are eliminating a blight from the country." Rosenfeldt said he was shocked by Justice Minister Crosbie's comment that the economy was the country's number 1 priority. Said Rosenfeldt: "I thought, 'Tell that to the family of the next murder victim.'"

The lawyer who defended Olson, Robert Shantz of Vancouver, said that Olson himself favors capital punishment. Declared Shantz, who described his former client as a sociopathic criminal: "He has always advocated capital punishment if you talk to him. You can sit down with him and he will say, 'I think they should kill all those crooks. It's not safe out there.' He says it without any real insight into the paradox he had put himself into."

For his part, restorationist William Morrison, a sociology professor and chairman of the justice and law enforcement program at the University of Winnipeg, declared: "Mass murderers like Clifford Olson deserve no compassion from society. Keeping them alive is a waste of energy and money. Instead, the money should be spent on prevention and identification of potential murderers. Most young people who become murderers have a drive to hate and anger that brings them into contact with the law before they kill." Added Morrison: "Parliament copped out the last time."

With correspondents' reports.

The dead silence after midnight

For many of the inmates of Canada's prisons there was only one issue of compelling interest during the recent federal election campaign: capital punishment. In British Columbia's Matsqui Institution, 80 km east of Vancouver, they discussed it over meals and during their nightly walks in the yard. There was a consensus that the Progressive Conservatives would win, and lively debate about whether a Tory majority would bring back the death penalty. Interest was so high, inmate Bob Gulash told *Maclean's* last week, that "We could have had a lottery about whether it would be brought back." Gulash, 42, who has served eight years of a 25-year life sentence for two killings during a robbery attempt near Regina, is among those who expect the Mulroney government to bring back hanging. Declared Gulash: "Every so often, the government will come up with new rules."



Poirier, after spending 20 years in prison: 'In some ways I am for capital punishment'

Commuted: At the Federal Training Centre in Laval, Que., Roger Poirier has also thought a good deal about capital punishment in recent weeks. Poirier, 46, entered the nearby maximum security Laval Institution in 1964 to serve a 20-year sentence for armed robbery. But less than a year later he was sentenced to die for the knife murder of a fellow inmate. He spent 18 months on death row in Montreal's Bordeaux jail before the cabinet commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. Now, after 20 consecutive years in Quebec penal institutions, he told *Maclean's*, "In some ways I am for capital punishment." Looking back over the years, Poirier added, "If I had been given 25 years originally, I would have taken death."

Poirier strongly resents his prison experience, even though conditions at the the medium security training centre are considerably less oppressive than at Canada's no-frills maximum security institutions. As one of the 60 members of the centre's "Lifers' Club," Poirier enjoys such privileges as unlimited visits from friends and relatives. But he is not alone in his extreme distaste for long-term imprisonment. Agreed fellow Lifers' Club member Conrad Beaulieu, 35, a convicted killer serving a 10-year minimum sentence. "If they had given me 25, I would want to be executed."

Still, many other inmates interpret such remarks as expressions of anger or despair rather than literal pleas for a death sentence. They refute the widespread assumption among people outside prisons that many inmates serving life sentences would rather be dead than endure such an inhumane life behind bars. One Matsqui Lifers' Club member, Lorne Wenn, 55, described a prisoner who has served 28 years of a life sentence. "He once said that if he had known how bad it was going to be, he would have run to the gallows," said Wenn. "You hear remarks like that, but nobody means it. Even in here life is precious."

Some notorious killers, such as Saul Betesh, who was convicted in 1978 of the brutal murder of 12-year-old Toronto shoeshine boy Emanuel Jaques, have argued in favor of the return of capital punishment as a deterrent. But many inmates, Wenn among them, disagree. Said Wenn, who was convicted of attempted murder in New Westminster, B.C., for placing a bomb under a car: "If they go back to hanging people, it won't reduce crimes. Most murders happen in anger, desperation or panic. Hanging people won't stop this." Recently a citizen's committee from British Columbia's Okanagan region asked Matsqui's six-member Lifers' Club for its opinion on the death penalty. Replied Wenn: "I told them it was barbaric to hang people."

Hierarchy: Still, like many inmates who do not approve of the death penalty in principle, Wenn is willing to make certain exceptions. In all prisons there is a social hierarchy and a strict, conservative code of ethics. At the bottom of the social ladder are child molesters and sexual offenders, and many inmates think that Clifford Olson, who murdered 11 children in British Columbia's Lower Mainland in 1980-81, should die for his crimes. Said Gulash: "If you took a poll of this place, 98 per cent of the guys would say, 'Hang Clifford Olson.'" Olson himself recently wrote a letter to a newspaper asking for reinstatement of the death penalty. Added Wenn: "You have to take a different look at people like Olson. They are insane."

But Wenn is among a declining number of inmates who can recall prison life before hanging was abolished in Canada. In 1959, while serving a five-year sentence for drug trafficking, Wenn was in British Columbia's infamous Oakalla prison, a fortress-like edifice overlooking Deer Lake in Burnaby. He remembers grisly rumors that circulated through the prison on the day after a hanging—of victims who took a long time to die, of guards having to swing on the body to finish the job, sometimes even ripping the head off. "Everyone knew when someone was going to hang," said Wenn. "There would be dead silence in the cells after midnight. Then you could hear the trap door go."

—JANE O'HARA *in Matsqui, B.C., and* DANIEL BURKE *in Laval, Quebec*



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Mulroney, Burke (centre), Trudeau (right) accepting 'our inability to cope with violent crimes except with violence'

COVER

A debate as old as civilization

Among 18th-century Londoners, gathering at Tyburn hill gallows to watch the death throes of convicted pickpockets (risking losing their money to thieves as they did so) was a popular amusement. With the death penalty prescribed for more than 220 crimes, hangings were both frequent and well attended. Over the years the number of offences calling for the death sentence shrank in Britain until the government retired the noose in 1965. Yet capital punishment has been practised virtually since the dawn of civilization. And for most of that time religious leaders, law enforcement officers and politicians have been debating its morality and its effectiveness as a deterrent.

"Thou shalt not kill"—*the Sixth Commandment, Exodus 20:13*

"He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death"—*Exodus 21:12*

"Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot"—*Exodus 21:24*

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', But I say unto you, that ye resist no evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."—*Jesus of Nazareth, Matthew 6, 38, 39*

"We know how to hang in Canada."
—*attributed to the governor of Trois-Rivières around 1650*

"Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion."—*English parliamentarian Edmund Burke speaking to the electors of Bristol, Nov 3, 1774*

"Depend upon it sir, when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully."—*English author and literary scholar Samuel Johnson, Sept. 19, 1777*

"It is not a pleasant duty for me to have to sentence you only to prison for life, your crime was unmitigated murder, you deserve to be hanged. Had the jury done their duty, I might now have the painful satisfaction of condemning you to death. You, gentleman of the jury, permit me to say that it would give me great pleasure to see you hanged, each and every one of you, for bringing in a murderer guilty only of manslaughter."—*Judge Matthew B. Begbie, later chief justice of British Columbia, at the trial of an American, January, 1863*

"I used to say to condemned persons as I beckoned with my hand, 'Come with me.' Now at night when I lie down, I start up with a roar as victim after victim comes up before me. I can see them on the trap, waiting a second before they face their Maker. They taunt me and haunt me until I am nearly crazy with an unearthly fear. I am 200 times a murderer but I won't kill another man."—*John Robert Radclive, Canada's leading public executioner, 1912*

"The Americans come up here and admire us for the way we hang criminals. They sit in our club and say, 'You certainly do hang them, don't you?' Myl they'd like to hang a few. The day may be coming when they will. Meantime we like to hang people to make the Americans sit up."—*Stephen Leacock, I'll stay in Canada, 1931*

"Will it hurt? Will I still be conscious when my neck breaks? You do die instantly, don't you?"—*Joseph Albert Guay, convicted of planting a bomb on an airplane in Canada, Sept. 9, 1949*

"There is something in the heart or mind of man that influences his actions and makes the basic difference in a person choosing the right or wrong way of life. Until this unknown cause is found and a treatment devised, I feel it is our duty as members of this House to support the retention of capitel punishment, at least for a second offender."—*Jack McIntosh (PC, Swift Current-Maple Creek), Commons abolition debate, March 24, 1966*

"The only excuse society has for taking the life of any person is if it is proven necessary to do so for the protection of society and our way of life. . . I have not yet found a criminal who ever plotted a crime and guided his conduct on the basis of the length of the punishment which would be awarded for such an offence."—*Terence Nugent (PC, Edmonton-Strathcona), Commons abolition debate, March 23, 1966*

"Vengeance is an act by which evil is returned for evil. Now, there is no question of vengeance in the case of society. Society is responsible for punishment and does not commit murder in such case. It punishes and castigates the one who has committed murder. It is a responsibility of society which cannot be reneged or avoided. It is its own responsibility. It is not something that can be called vengeance but just retribution."—*Alexis Caron, (Liberal, Hull), Commons abolition debate, March 24, 1966*

"The argument is that hanging is a deterrent, but history does not support that argument. Will anybody say that it was because of weakness that these horrible punishments were changed? The reason was that juries began to seek reasons to acquit."—*Tory Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker, Commons abolition debate, April 4, 1966*

"There is not one normal human being on the face of the earth who does not fear death. I do not believe this can be gainsaid. One is therefore led to the conclusion, probably oversimplistic, that death must be a deterrent. No one is going to attempt to cross the tracks at a subway station if he sees a train is coming. No one is going to open the door of an aircraft flying at 30,000 feet if he believes that, by so doing, he is bound to fall out. . . .It seems to me there are a large number of murders committed by persons who are normal but for the commission of the crime of murder on their part. To them I say the death penalty is a deterrent."—*Erik Nielsen (PC, Yukon), Commons abolition debate, May 3, 1976*

"I learned . . . that the man who killed my husband, P.C. Leslie Maitland, last Feb. 1 has now been sentenced to death. I would like you to know that the views of myself and my husband's family on capital punishment remain unchanged. We are totally against it. It would not bring Leslie back and it is too easy a way out for all of us. Society condemns murder, but is willing to accept the murder of this man in the name of justice. Please do what you can to prevent this terrible second crime, before it is too late. . . .The killing of this man would be completely foreign to all the moral standards of both my late husband and myself."—*slain Toronto policeman's widow Pauline Maitland, quoted in Parliament by Andrew Brewin (NDP, Greenwood), May 3, 1976*

". . . The issue of capital punishment is, from a moral perspective, probably the most important issue on which a politician is asked to make a judgment. By this I mean that before one can debate the morality of any social or political system, liberalism, socialism or conservatism, one must assume at the outset that all mankind has a preceding moral right to exist, that all men have an equal claim at the outset, once they are born, to continue to exist. It is for this reason that I believe most seriously that those who favor capital punishment have upon themselves the moral onus to prove that this form of killing by the state is justified."—*NDP Leader Ed Broadbent, Commons abolition debate, June 15, 1976*

"It is not open to anyone among us to take refuge in the comforting illusion that we are debating nothing more than an abstract theory of criminal justice. . . I want to make it very clear that if a majority of honorable members vote against abolition, some people are going to be hanged. While members are free to vote as they wish, those who vote against the bill, for whatever reason, cannot escape their personal share of responsibility for the hangings which will take place if this bill is defeated. . . .

"Are we, as a society, so lacking in respect for ourselves, so lacking in hope for human betterment, so socially bankrupt that we are ready to accept state vengeance as our penal philosophy? . . .To retain [capital punishment] in the Criminal Code of Canada would be to abandon reason in favor of vengeance, to abandon hope and confidence in favor of a despairing acceptance of our inability to cope with violent crime except with violence."—*former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, Commons abolition debate, June 15, 1976*

"Yes, I do rule out the idea of a referendum [on capital punishment]. If you believe in the British parliamentary traditions and system, and I do, that calls upon members of Parliament to assume their responsibilities."—*Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Ottawa press conference, Sept. 28, 1984*

Troubled echoes of a double hanging

By Robert Block

Toronto lawyer Walter Williston went to see convicted killers Arthur Lucas and Ronald Turpin for the last time shortly after suppertime on Dec. 10, 1962. Seeking them out in their tiny cells in the Don Jail in the city's east end, Williston told them he had failed to persuade then-Justice Minister Donald Fleming to commute their death sentences, scheduled to be carried out that night just after midnight. The lawyer, trying desperately to soften the impact of his bad news, added, "If it is any consolation to you, you may be the last men to hang in Canada." The prediction has so far stood the test of time. Since their hanging roughly six hours later, Lucas and Turpin have indeed held a dubious place in history as the last of the more than 700 people to go to the gallows since Confederation.

Now, almost 22 years later, there are still chilling traces of the event, even though the old section of the jail where it took place was closed in 1978. Lucas, a Detroit mobster who murdered an FBI informer and his common-law wife in Toronto, and Turpin, who killed a Toronto policeman after a robbery, were imprisoned around the clock in six-by-seven-foot cells on death row, just 60 feet from the hanging room, for nine months between sentencing and execution. The four death row cells are still there, but their metal bunks are gone. In two of them, so are the toilets and sinks. Two cells have doors that look like metal but on closer inspection turn out to be painted wood. They were installed by one of the movie companies that have frequently used the 125-year-old abandoned building as a location for filming.

Hooded: On the night of the execution the men ate a steak dinner with spoons. Then four guards, the jail governor and his deputy, the sheriff and the prison chaplain marched them along a corridor cleared of prisoners to the nine-by-nine-foot gallows room where the hangman was waiting. Jail workers later removed the wooden floor which supported a trap door but the floor's outline is still visible on the white-painted brick walls enclosing the gallows room and a room of the same size directly below. In the dusty, dimly lit old prison it is not difficult to imagine how the prisoners, hooded and handcuffed, plummeted through the floor at 12.02 a.m., a rope around each of their necks. They did not hear the chants of the hundreds of anti-hanging protesters outside.

The hangman did an effective job. Unlike many hangings on record which have left the victims strangling or, in the other extreme, decapitated them, he calculated the length of the fall properly. In both cases the suddenly taut rope applied just enough force to break the victims' necks, rendering them immediately unconscious. Still, the attending doctor, William H. Hills, had to wait on a stepladder until 12:18 a.m. listening to their heartbeats with a stethoscope, before he would certify their deaths. Commented Hills later: "At first I used to try to stop the tears. Now, I just let them flow and that way I get relief." But the hangman himself, who is known only by the traditional Canadian executioner's pseudonym, "Mr. Ellis," has since argued in several interviews for the retention of capital punishment. Although the sheriff's office has not had to call on his services since 1962, its officers discovered that he conducted a double hanging in Jamaica about eight years ago after the RCMP located him for Jamaican officials.



Everitt in cemetery: 'a terrible thing'

Another man with a harrowing memory of the hanging is Julian Porter, now a prominent Toronto lawyer. Porter assisted lawyer Williston in conducting the appeals for Lucas, but when all appeals failed he did not have the heart to attend the hanging. Instead, he went to see the opening of the stage play *Oliver* at Toronto's O'Keefe Centre and recalls that exactly at midnight, when Lucas and Turpin were stepping onto the gallows, there was a mock hanging in the play using a rag doll. Said Porter: "I went three or four feet into the air." Nevertheless, Porter still believes in some form of capital punishment. "In spite of that experience, which has had a considerable effect on me, society to some extent has to have a feeling there is some protection out there. For some special areas capital punishment is probably a valid idea." The appeals on behalf of Lucas questioned the admissibility of evidence at his trial. Lucas also had protested his innocence, but Porter refused on ethical grounds to comment on whether he feels that an innocent man was executed.

Doubts: On the other hand, the Salvation Army officer who was the chaplain in the hanging procession was and still is opposed to capital punishment. Said Lt.-Col. Cyril Everitt: "I said it that night and I say it again now. Not one of the 10 men there, except the hangman himself, was pleased about anything that was going on. We all thought it was a terrible thing." Everitt, now 76 and retired, visited Lucas and Turpin or wrote to them every day during their nine-month wait. Then he said the last rites and conducted their burial. Until the past five years he often returned on the anniversary of the hangings to their graves, which are indicated only by number markers at the Prospect Cemetery in Toronto, both in area 13, Lucas in grave 415, Turpin in 416. Everitt still has doubts about the justice of the hanging. He said that Lucas had protested his innocence both at his trial and right up to his hanging. Said Everitt: "I have given it a great deal of thought recently, particularly on the anniversary, and I have begun to wonder if we hadn't made a mistake."

The tragedy of freedom

By Robert Block

Most of Canada's 200,000 former mental hospital patients face little better than soup kitchen lineups and flophouse beds. But they are better off than the many thousands of former patients in major U.S. cities who often must sleep over steam grates or in storm drains and who often cannot even claim welfare payments. The dramatic plight of such destitute and confused people, who were released from psychiatric hospitals because doctors felt they would be better off on their own, emerged in a report last month by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). The report condemned as "a major societal tragedy" the results of a policy that psychiatrists around the world have embraced as the most humane alternative to permanent custody. It said that the freedom to which many of them were condemned is often worse than life in mental hospitals. Said G. Tori Salter, executive director of the Toronto-based Canadian Association for the Welfare of Psychiatric Patients: "They are free to be lonely, frightened and sick, with no one at all to care for them."



Rohn: glory dreams turned to nightmares

Although concern over such patients has been mounting steadily in recent years, the APA report signalled an important admission of a major failure in current psychiatric policy. It explained that the present policy of releasing as many patients as possible took hold in the 1950s, when psychiatrists, spurred by the primitive conditions of most asylums and by the success of new drug treatments, reasoned that many patients would be better off in the community. Governments responded by closing many asylum doors and limiting admission to others. But the APA report noted that mental health professionals failed to ensure that ex-patients received the care they needed once they were on their own. In the United States the psychiatric hospital population has decreased to about 132,000 from about 600,000 over the past 30 years. And although the authors of the report offered no firm figures, they calculated that there are between 60,000 and 1.5 million homeless mentally ill people in the United States. Said the report: "Hardly a section of the country has escaped the ubiquitous presence of ragged, ill and hallucinating human beings, wandering through our city streets, huddled in alleyways or sleeping over vents."

The situation is the same in Canada, according to George Rohn, general director of the Toronto-based Canadian Mental Health Association. He said that the move to release psychiatric patients from institutions began in Canada in 1963, when the CMHA released a report titled *More for the Mind*. The report reasoned that most asylum patients needed shelter more than treatment and that—especially since the invention of tranquillizers in the mid-1950s—they would be better off living in a normal environment. Rohn said that the report was influential in the closing of approximately 45,000 psychiatric hospital beds in Canada, from about 68,000 in the 1960s to about 23,000 now.

But Rohn added that the policy went awry because officials implemented it too quickly and paid too little attention to developing a system of alternate care. He blamed provincial governments for closing mental hospitals for the wrong reasons. Said Rohn: "They saw it as an economic saving rather than a therapeutic proposition." He said that mental patients in various communities across the country often live in conditions as bad as the ones that prevailed in the old asylums. Said Rohn: "The dreams of glory in the late 1950s and early 1960s—the bold new approach to treating the mentally ill in the community—has turned into a nightmare today. We now have the largest population of



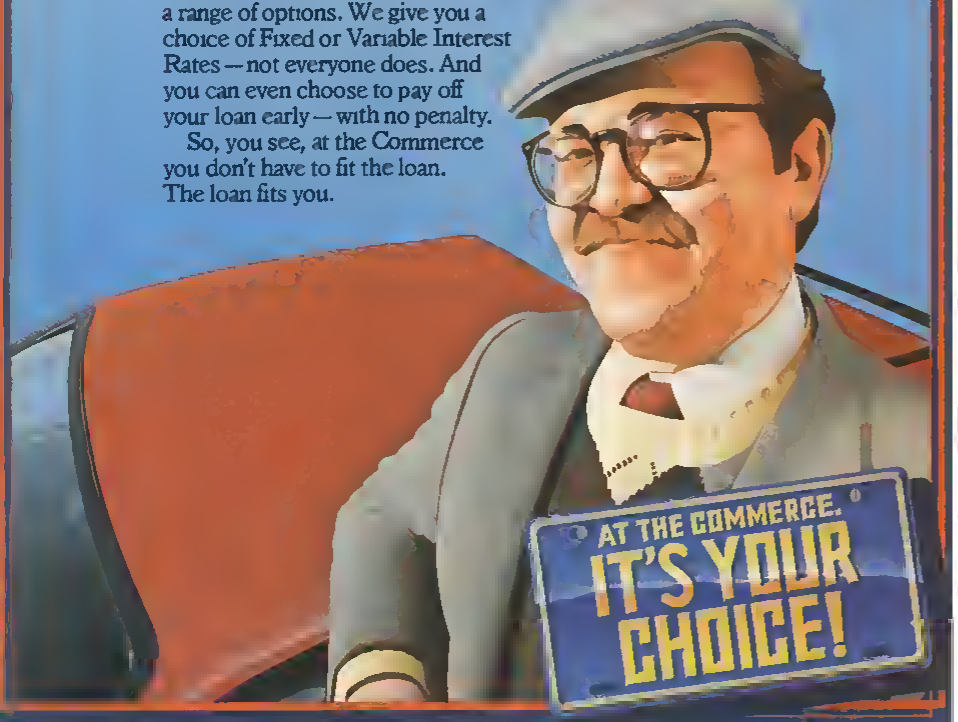
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uncared-for, long-term mentally ill disabled people that we have ever known."

A dramatic illustration of the plight of neglected ex-psychiatric patients in Canada arose in September when Dr. Dan Craigen, director general of medical services for Canada's prisons, announced in Edmonton that the closing of mental hospitals has resulted in a growing number of the mentally ill going to prison, where they become easy targets for abuse by other inmates. He said that combatting the problem has become a major priority for prison wardens and he announced a program to separate psychiatric inmates from the others to prevent abuse and promote teatment. It will begin in October at the Saskatchewan penitentiary in Prince Albert and, if successful, it will be extended to Dorchester penitentiary in New Brunswick this year and to Kingston penitentiary in Ontario next year. Commented Dr. Maggie Tweddle, a psychiatrist at the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Centre: "It is sad that a bunch of people who previously would have spent much of their lives in and out of a mental hospital now are spending their lives in and out of jail." Tweddle favors a system in which patients discharged from prisons would be legally classified as dependent adults to ensure that they continue to receive treatment.

The problems of dealing with discharged psychiatric patients are not limited to North America. Under the promptings of progressive psychiatrist Franco Basaglia, Italy has long been in the forefront of the movement to return the mentally ill to the community. But after the Italian government outlawed asylum admissions in 1978, public reaction to the 10,000 mental patients that began to roam Italy's streets was so negative that Prime Minister Bettino Craxi recently vowed to reopen the asylums. Great Britain is trimming beds in its mental institutions, and one psychiatrist, noting an increase in suicides and accidental deaths, said that the hospitals are releasing patients with "unseemly haste." France is considering legislation to limit mental hospital admissions, and in Switzerland, where tranquillizers were invented, ex-mental patients are common on the streets.

Social activist Salter's plight illustrates the problem. Every Christmas since 1969 her association has bought warm clothing from wholesalers and distributed it to mental patients adrift in the community. But this year she has been unable to raise enough money. Said Salter: "I tried everyone, but they all turned me down. What would you do if you had 2,000 of the most pathetic people on earth? They have become society's scapegoats."

Despite mounting concern over the failure of government policy, there is no organized outcry for a return to institutions. But there is also no agreement on alternate answers. Salter wants a system in which patients themselves would help run small hospitals, with fewer than 30 beds. APA president Dr. John Talbott blamed the failure on a lack of financing for community facilities and called for an increase in programs to provide food, shelter and psychiatric care. Said Talbott: "As a public policy, deinstitutionalization itself is not flawed; its implementation is."

For his part, Dr. Gaston Harnois, director general of the Douglas Hospital in Montreal, suggested a general solution. Said Harnois: "The mistake was that people attributed too much of a magical function to moving people from the asylum into the community." He said that what is needed is "a vast array of diversified types of services" to look after discharged patients, including the asylum function of providing shelter with minimal stress. Said Harnois: "You can change the locus of the asylum, but you cannot get rid of its function." Until they receive proper cars in the community, mental patients will continue to live in prisons without walls.



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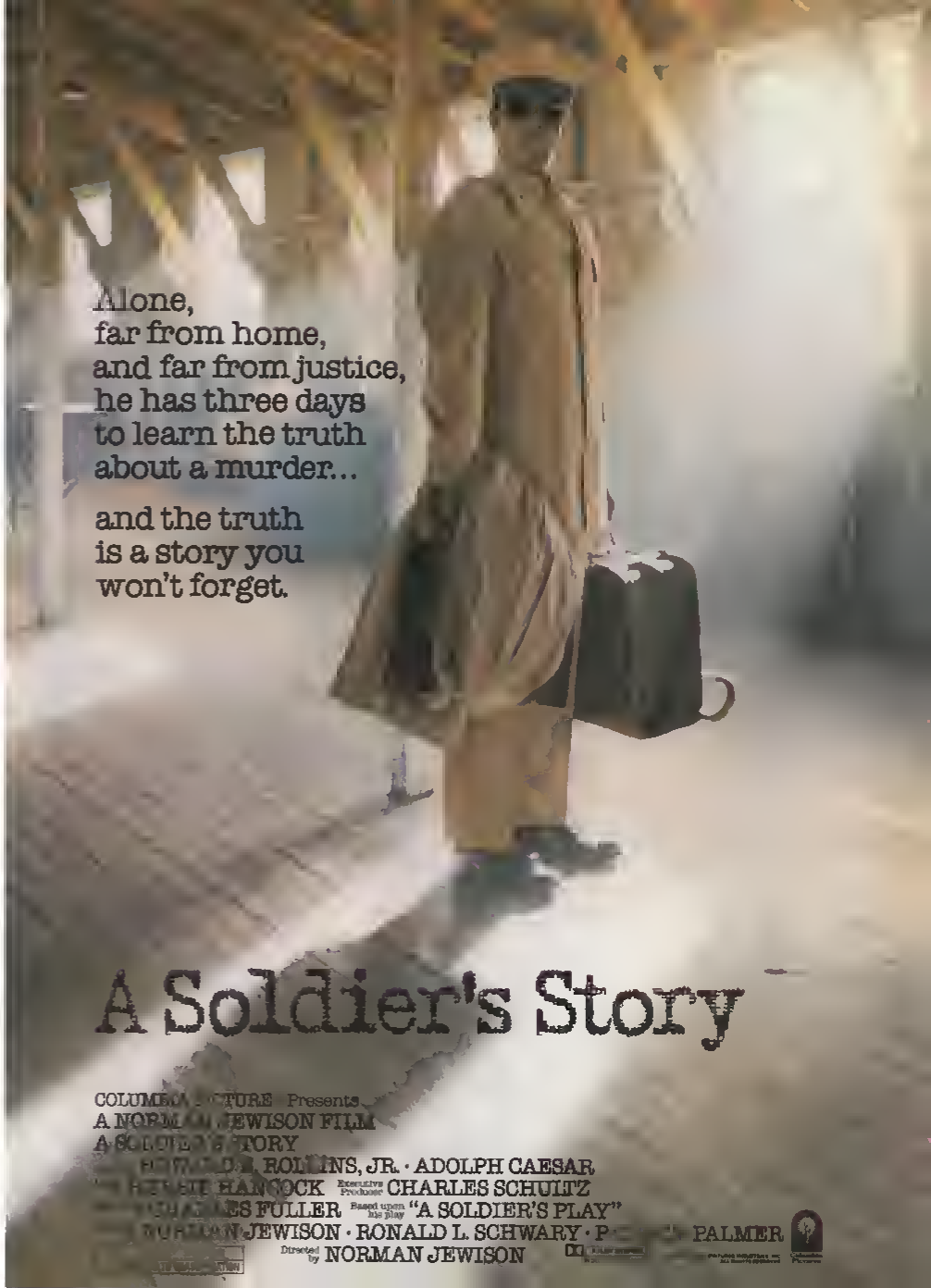
A safety net for the NHL

It was 57 years ago that the National Hockey League first adopted a new style of hockey net. Named after its inventor, the 200-lb steel-and-mesh Art Ross net has since stopped countless pucks but it has also inflicted countless injuries on players who had the misfortune of colliding with it. Last December Dave Hindmarch of the Calgary Flames went hurtling into a post during a game against the Vancouver Canucks and suffered injuries that required surgery to both knees and left him in a wheelchair for several weeks. Four years ago during a game, Hartford Whalers' defenceman Mark Howe was literally impaled on the sharp, V-shaped deflector plate centred at the base of a net. That gruesome accident provided the impetus to scrap the Ross design, and thus year, for the first time, a new, safer net will replace it in NHL play. Called the Megg-Net, it will likely reduce injuries dramatically. Said Larry Robinson, veteran defenceman for the Montreal Canadiens: "The Megg-Net is about 40 years late in coming."

The 160-lb. steel Megg-Net rests on two magnetic knobs that protrude only three-quarters of an inch above the ice surface. The Ross net's hollow posts were held in place by eight-inch steel pegs that made it almost unmovable. Said Pete Peeters, goaltender for the Boston Bruins, who last year chipped a vertebra against the crossbar of a Ross net: "It doesn't give way, the man does." But unlike the European-style net, which also uses small pegs but will shear away with the slightest bump, the Megg-Net is held in place by magnets that will lose their grip when the net is subjected to a 185-lb. impact. The D-shaped net also does away with the metal deflector plate. Replacing it is a system of cut-resistant nylon fabric that pads the base of the net and its upright centre post.

The new net was invented by Dennis Meggs, 43, of Waterloo, Ont., and made its NHL debut last year at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. With greater safety apparently guaranteed, hockey watchers are now speculating on other possible effects of the new system. Said John McCauley, assistant director of officiating for the NHL: "The system will create much more freedom in front of the nets, possibly resulting in higher scores—and certainly in more excitement."

—SUZANNE SANDOR-LOFFT





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A farmyard drug threat

For more than two decades most North American farm animals have consumed antibiotics as part of their regular diet. Farmers routinely add the drugs to cattle, pig and chicken feed to help promote growth by stifling the spread of bacterial infection. But critics of the practice worry that it could produce strains of harmful bacteria that are resistant to the antibiotics that are normally used to treat human illnesses. Now, a U.S. study has justified that worry by linking human sickness with drug-resistant bacteria in meat. Scientists with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta blamed a recent outbreak of food poisoning on meat in which the presence of antibiotics had encouraged a resistant strain of salmonella bacteria to flourish. The discovery has prompted a renewed call for banning antibiotics in animal feed.



Modern pork production, a question of balance between economics and health

Using a technique called "genetic fingerprinting," researchers traced 18 cases of food poisoning, including one death, back to a South Dakota farm where cattle were being fed grain mixed with tetracycline, which is easily available to farmers. Twelve of those poisoned were already taking antibiotics for other reasons, but the drugs only killed off other bacteria and encouraged the spread of the resistant strain. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, which first recommended a ban on antibiotics in animal feed in 1977, is currently reviewing the evidence to determine whether to renew its call for a ban.

For their part, Canadian health officials have launched their own investigations. Said Albert Mitchell, director of the bureau of veterinary drugs for the health protection branch of Health and Welfare Canada: "This new evidence from the United States seems to be much firmer than anything done previously." Mitchell added that his office would recommend controls on antibiotic feeding if its research shows an imminent health hazard. An attempt to trace an outbreak of salmonella in cheese that originated in Prince Edward Island in June revealed no evidence of "antibiotic pressure," according to Mitchell.

A ban on the farm use of antibiotics would inevitably lead to higher retail meat prices, according to Lyle Rea, president of the Canadian Animal Health Institute, which has formed its own committee to assess the U.S. findings. Rea said that farmers would resist any ban, and added: "There are fewer and fewer farmers feeding more and more people, and part of that is due to the use of antibiotics in livestock. Take one piece out of the puzzle and you could destroy the whole thing." Thomas Feltmate, chief of epidemiology for the meat hygiene division of Agriculture Canada, noted that "economics are the real issue, and this is one of the reasons they have not banned antibiotics in the past." Feltmate cited a 1981 U.S. study which showed that a ban would cost U.S. consumers $3.5 billion extra for meat each year. A Canadian ban would also carry a high price, but all agree that it would not be too high if Canadian scientists match the findings of their U.S. colleagues. Said Mitchell: "Economics plays a secondary role if human health is at risk."

—PAUL BERTON

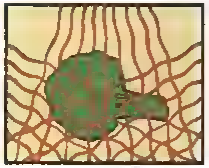


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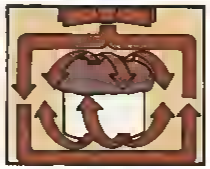
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BOOKS

Interplays of intellect

WITH A DAUGHTER'S EYE
By Mary Catherine Bateson
(Macmillan of Canada,
242 pages, $23.50)

Memoirs by the children of celebrities often provide prurient glimpses rather than loving insights into the lives of the famous. A moving exception is *With a Daughter's Eye*, Mary Catherine Bateson's superb memoir of her parents, anthropologists Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. The author, now 45, is herself a respected anthropologist who became a trusted colleague and confidante to both until their deaths—Mead in 1978, Bateson in 1980. Her book is a tribute to them and their work, but its generous anecdotes and impassioned, elegant style make it equally a tribute to Mary Bateson the writer.

It would be hard to find an odder couple than the American Mead and the English-born Bateson, whose work on cybernetics and schizophrenia strongly influenced the revolutionary British psychiatrist R.D. Laing. Mary Bateson describes the lap of her mother's barely five-foot-tall frame as a warm nest, but embracing her six-foot, five-inch father was like climbing a jungle gym. The physical differences were only the beginning. Mead was a gregarious optimist, a mythmaking prophet who cultivated relationships by the hundreds and whose own multifaceted personality remained curiously indefinable. Bateson, her third husband, was the epitome of the absentminded professor and an intensely antisocial man—his urge to go sockless was often a matter of debate between them. But they did share an unshakable belief that the universe was a unified whole, and both had a passion for communication. "The play of intellect was a carrier of deep emotion, the conversation a form of love-making."

Bateson does not attempt to describe fully the lives and ideas of her parents: every glimpse of them is personal, tinged by the perceptions of a daughter who educated them as much as they educated her. The parents copiously documented the progress of baby Mary: early memories of her father always include the Leica camera that hung around his neck. Although her parents' careers often kept them away, Bateson grew up in a warm extended family of relatives, friends and colleagues. She has forgiven their absences, and her one regret is that her mother could not tell her that Mead's older collaborator, Ruth Benedict, was not only a colleague but also for many years her lover.

As one of Dr. Benjamin Spock's first patients and a mother herself, Bateson focuses on Mead's struggle to revive in North America the natural child-rearing methods she had encountered in her fieldwork in the South Pacific. That research produced *Coming of Age in Samoa*, the book that made her mother famous by suggesting that sexual expression might reduce Western habits of harsh discipline and violence.

In reaction to recent criticism that the book is incomplete and unbalanced, Bateson defends her mother's methods. She claims that Mead did not set out to accumulate an exhaustive body of data on Samoa but to reveal a pattern of culture that would apply to Samoan society as a whole. That is also the author's defence for her own highly personal and tightly focused perspective on her parents. But no apology is required. Mary Catherine Bateson has done them proud.

—MARK CZARNECKI



Bateson: gentle humor and precocious wisdom

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A sci-fi twist of old morals

JOB A COMEDY OF JUSTICE
By Robert Heinlein
(Random House, 376 pages, $25)

Science fiction usually relies on miracles of technology or psychology to create its special effects. But with *Job A Comedy of Justice*, Robert Heinlein—dean of American science fiction—turns to oldtime religion. He has constructed a gleefully implausible plot in which each twist appears to be the work of a mischievous and single-minded God. The hero is Alex, a fundamentalist preacher on a cruise in Polynesia. Onshore he dares to go fire-walking, faints—and wakes up as another person on a different cruise ship. With his new identity he inherits an affair with a sexy stewardess and promptly falls in love with her. After a tropical iceberg rudely pierces their stateroom, the shipwrecked couple finds safety in Mexico and begins a long trek to Alex's home in Kansas.

On the way, an invisible deity changes their world every few days—not utterly, but enough to make travel difficult. Although time is unaltered, surroundings shift. In one world Mexico is a republic, in another a monarchy. One world has zippers, another only buttons. Most frustrating are the continual changes in currency. As Alex frantically washes dishes to stay alive, each world change renders his earnings worthless. And because portents in all worlds indicate that Judgment Day is near, Alex, still the fundamentalist, is terrified that his lover will not pass muster. Heinlein's vision of heaven—"an artificial place, like Manhattan," run by uppity angels wearing STAFF badges—is truly funny. Saint Peter is "an outdoor man with a permanent suntan."

Still, despite the rousing and witty finale, the bulk of Heinlein's comedy is based on a coy, neo-Victorian fantasy: a gentleman-prude struggles to maintain his virtue while succumbing to various pleasures of the flesh. Like *Stranger in a Strange Land*, Heinlein's 1961 novel about a human who tries to adjust to earth after a life on Mars, *Job* poses a basic relativity question—which way is home in an alien world? With a plot that gathers momentum like a mathematical formula computing the speed of light, the novel makes fun of mortals who believe there is justice in the gambling dens of the gods. But the strange ingredients that comprise Heinlein's sci-fi biblical sitcom are old-fashioned and, in the end, not strange enough.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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A bloody harvest of memories

THE GOOD WAR
Edited by Studs Terkel
(Random House, 595 pages, $27.50)

Since the invention of the portable tape recorder, readers have feasted on oral histories on every subject from growing up to growing old. In Canada the champion of the form is Barry Broadfoot, compiler of such best-selling folk memoirs as *Ten Lost Years*, which chronicled the Great Depression. In the United States Studs Terkel has achieved enormous fame as an electronic scribe with several books, including *Working* and *Hard Times*. His latest effort, *The Good War*, is a massive compendium of interviews about the Second World War. Terkel talked to hundreds of Americans of all classes and colors to discover the impact of the global struggle on their lives. His efforts have produced a human tapestry of extraordinary interest and emotional power. There is much in *The Good War* with which Canadians can readily empathize—although many will bristle at Terkel's lamentable ignorance when he editorializes that the United States was "the only country among the combatants in World War Two that was neither invaded nor bombed."



JUDITH E. CLELAND

Terkel: sudden stabs of telling detail

Terkel opens his book with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Although Pearl Harbor was 2,400 miles away from the continental United States, the bombing raid produced instant chaos in California, where many feared an imminent Japanese invasion. The mayor of Los Angeles, Tom Bradley, recalls his impressions as a young policeman at the time: "Immediately after Pearl Harbor, there was bedlam. Sirens going off, [anti] aircraft guns firing. It was panic. Here we are in the middle of the night, there was no enemy in sight, but somebody thought they saw the enemy. They were shooting at random."

The initial panic quieted, and the next year American soldiers sailed to Europe to join the battle against Hitler's armies. For those who survived, it would always be the "good war" of Terkel's title: good because it was fought for a just cause—and for little-travelled soldiers including Robert Rasmus, it was an education. "I was preoccupied with staying alive and doing my job," he recalled, "but it seemed, out of the corner of my eye, I was constantly fascinated with the beauty of the German forests and medieval bell towers. At 19, you're seeing life with fresh eyes."

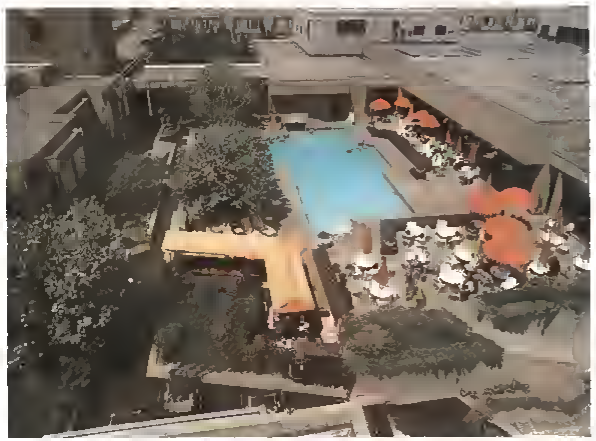
Not all the participants were as enthusiastic as Rasmus. Elliott Johnson, a California business executive, remembers a nightmarish incident in the battlefield when he called his best friend to relieve him on guard duty. A bullet struck the friend as he approached—and he died in Johnson's arms. Johnson expressed a sentiment common in Terkel's book: "I am totally adverse to killing and warfare. I saw it with my own eyes and it didn't do a dadratted thing It took four years out of my life." Another soldier, Joseph Levine, was scarred forever by his first sight of the Dachau death camp. "I walked into a gas chamber. It's a museum today with clean, white-painted walls. When I was there the walls were still covered with blood. People had banged their heads against it as they were dying."

The Good War abounds in such sudden stabs of telling detail in a history that is a tribute to the narrative and descriptive abilities of ordinary people. Not all the entries are equally compelling, but some, including Joseph Small's recounting of racial prejudice in the American army, read with the power of a good short story.

Terkel should have made his organizational principles clearer in the table of contents; he makes baffling, melodramatic use of italics, and the sheer volume of entries discourages cover-to-cover reading. Like many histories, *The Good War* is best for dipping into whenever one feels a need for raw human experience in all its bewildering extremes. —JOHN BEMROSE

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The first lady of the Blue Jays

FOUL BALLS: FIVE YEARS IN THE AMERICAN LEAGUE
By Alison Gordon
(McClelland and Stewart, 256 pages, $15.95)



Gordon: gentle on the boys of summer

In 1979, when Alison Gordon became a baseball writer for *The Toronto Star*, she had to face a number of challenges. New to covering baseball and to writing for newspapers, she still found that the greatest obstacle in her path was her sex. But later that year Gordon, then 36, became the first woman to cover the American League baseball beat and one of the first admitted to the Toronto Blue Jays' locker room. The team owners' decision followed a ruling by a female judge in New York: she laid bare major-league dressing rooms when she ruled in favor of a Time Inc. lawsuit that exclusion based on sex violated the U.S. Constitution.

Few male sports fans or players approved, and in her book, *Foul Balls*, Gordon quotes Early Wynn, a Hall of Fame pitcher and Blue Jay broadcaster, as advising her to learn how to "stand up at the bar and buy a round of drinks —and stand up at a urinal." Still, Gordon reveals no bitterness in her wistful but good-humored compendium of memories. Clearly, Gordon loves the game, which she calls "as eternal as green grass and blue sky."

Foul Balls devotes most of its space to the upstart Toronto Blue Jays, whom Gordon calls "my boys." But it also profiles the greats, the has-beens and not-yets of other baseball teams. Gordon poignantly characterizes yesterday's stars as they face, often with overwhelming disbelief, the prospect of being "released." At the same time, she is sympathetic to the minor leaguer who "goes and plays every day and waits for the incumbent to get hurt or get traded or get old." And to the argument that the players' high salaries compensate for their emotional seesaw, Gordon writes, "All it does is make them more likely to panic at the thought of losing the job" —which many do in their mid-30s.

Foul Balls exhibits feelings ranging from respect—for the baseball player who has to "hit a round ball with a round bat, reckoned by some to be the most difficult endeavor in all of sport"—to anger at what Gordon says she thinks is shallow and showy media coverage. Gordon comes closest to vitriol when she writes about "lazy television reporters" and radio "microclones." She tells a story about a 1980 World Series press conference with Kansas City Royals' Willie Aikens, a star hitter with a severe speech impediment. Questioned about it "gently and politely," Aikens talked forthrightly about his disability. "He stood with all the cameras of the world on him and stumbled through his replies," writes Gordon. Suddenly a voice from the back of the pack [a radio man] cut in: "Can we get off the stuttering? We've been on it for seven minutes already."

Gordon's book gives little information about its author. She explains her love of baseball by briefly describing her childhood in and around New York City with her grandfather, a Brooklyn Dodgers fan, and her brother Charley (*Maclean's* and Ottawa *Citizen* columnist Charles Gordon), who followed the Yankees. Then she leaps ahead 17 years to 1977 and to the newly formed Toronto Blue Jays. She reveals few of the difficulties of battling prejudices in the dressing room and uncomplainingly quotes such devastating attacks as the letter from a *Star* reader that began: "Madam, I see where you don't seem to mind male nudity in athletes' shower rooms at sports arenas. Well, neither would any whore." Women journalists who would follow in Gordon's footsteps would have benefited from knowing how she coped. As it is, *Foul Balls* still serves baseball fans—and those who are fascinated by the psychology of major-league sports—with sensitivity and wit.

—BARBARA RIGHTON



A hope for hyperactives

About three per cent of all school children in Canada suffer from hyperactivity, a condition that prevents them from focusing their attention or controlling their behavior for extended periods of time. Although scientists have long recognized its existence, they have made little progress in identifying the cause of hyperactivity or in treating it. In 1937 American psychiatrist Dr. Charles Bradley discovered that drugs customarily used as stimulants would calm frenetic children down. Since then, doctors have routinely prescribed stimulants for the condition, and most hyperactive children take Ritalin capsules, even though they fail to improve the poor academic performance of hyperactives. But a study presented to the American Psychological Association annual meeting in Toronto in August showed that doctors might be currently overdosing hyperactive children with the stimulant and that a lower dosage actually improved test patients' learning capability by 20 per cent.



Douglas: the causes are still unknown

The study, conducted by Virginia Douglas, chairman of the department of psychology at McGill University in Montreal, examined the behavior of 16 children between seven and 12 years old who had exhibited extremely impulsive behavior and attention-span problems from the age of 5 or earlier. Over the course of one week doctors gave them low doses of Ritalin—0.3 milligrams per kilogram of body weight—twice a day, compared to the traditional, daily dosage of as much as one milligram per kilo. For control purposes, doctors gave some children a placebo, or nonreacting substance. The children then took a series of mathematical and language tests, from doctors in the morning and from their teachers in the afternoon. Douglas found that the children's performance was higher on their low-dose days than it was during the days on which they took only placebos. Said Douglas: "The secret lies in the low doses of Ritalin we gave them. I believe that some people have been overdosing these children."

Douglas believes that her study points to a future in which doctors will determine stimulant doses on an individual basis. But despite 20 years experience in the field, she said that neither she nor any other researcher yet understands the cause of hyperactivity. One startling fact is that 85 per cent of all hyperactives are male. Five per cent of adults are also afflicted. Bradley, who died in 1978, believed that hyperactives had suffered brain damage at birth or during the first year of infancy due to a lack of oxygen. But researchers generally have dismissed that theory and are examining the role of other possible brain malfunctions. "There is still no good reading," said Douglas, who believes that the disease is environmentally determined. But, she added, "I am more and more convinced that the way a parent handles a child can make him a lot worse, or can improve his behavior."

Twenty years ago a California allergist, Dr. Benjamin Feingold, suggested that preservatives, dyes and flavorings in food were responsible for hyperactivity. As a result, thousands of parents, desperate to control their unruly children, put them on natural food diets. Many studies since then, including one by two University of Toronto researchers, have supported Feingold's theory. But Douglas and other researchers are not convinced of the benefits of the regimen. Said Douglas, "In spite of all the publicity I will not recommend a special diet until I get data that convince me."

For most practitioners, the treatment of choice is still Ritalin, even though its effects remain a paradox. But Douglas's research has shown that normally prescribed doses of the drug do affect acquisition of knowledge and short-term memory retrieval—a significant step forward in understanding the enigma of hyperactivity. —JUNE ROGERS

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The power behind the check-out counter

Once Canada's largest and one of its most profitable grocery store chains, Toronto-based Dominion Stores Ltd first began losing ground to competitors in the early 1970s. As the decade ended, the firm was in serious financial difficulty. But in 1982 the company instituted a massive reorganization, which included closing down some unprofitable stores and leasing them out as franchises to independent owners under the name of Mr. Grocer. The stores' new owners rehired, at reduced rates, employees who had been laid off by Dominion. But the union representing Dominion employees challenged the practice, and last week the Ontario Labour Relations Board upheld the grievance, ruling that Dominion must still honor the contract it made with employees now working for Mr. Grocer. For Dominion, which plans to appeal the decision, it was a stunning setback. But for its employees, and for other workers across the country, it was a victory that could permanently alter the complexion of Canadian labor relations.

The board based its ruling on a decision that the stores' new owners are not truly independent and noted that they are bound to buy supplies exclusively from Dominion subsidiary Willett Foods Ltd.—or at Willett-approved suppliers—at fixed prices, to participate in coordinated advertising campaigns and to make weekly financial reports to Dominion. Concluding that Dominion remained the real economic power behind the facade of independent Mr. Grocer stores, the board decided that it should also be required to maintain the collective agreement it originally negotiated with its employees.

The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) filed grievances against all Mr. Grocer stores after Dominion laid off a total of 800 employees in 110 store closings, according to Canadian director Donald Collins. He said that about 1,600 employees were affected and that Mr. Grocer rehired 600 of those laid off. Under the new ruling, which so far applies to only one Mississauga, Ont., Mr. Grocer store, cashiers with 30 months experience would see their wages rise back to their old level of $12 an hour from $7 an hour.

For their part, Dominion and Willett Foods announced that they will appeal the decision to the Ontario Supreme Court. Larry Gee, vice-president of operations for Dominion, insisted that the franchise agreement with Mr. Grocer is substantially the same as those of other food companies which are not required to maintain collective agreements. He added that the stores were unprofitable prior to conversion and that the decision could force them to close. Said Gee: "If this decision is upheld, a good number of jobs and millions of dollars are at risk." Tony Reda, who holds the franchise at a Mr. Grocer in Etobicoke, Ont., confirmed Gee's warning: "There's no way this store is going to make it paying a part-time school kid $10 an hour when I'm paying $4.60 an hour now."

Union lawyer James Hayes of Toronto heralded the Ontario ruling as a victory for his clients, as well as for all workers whose collective agreements have crumbled under similar circumstances. Explained Hayes: "The franchise system seems to be the wave of the future, because it allows large corporations to continue to make a buck while they insulate their labor relations at a local or small level." But he added that the ruling will make it difficult for corporations to break union power in the future merely by franchising. Said Hayes: "The decision means that you can franchise but you can't leave the collective agreement behind. You can't do it on the backs of workers who have obtained their benefits in collective agreements."



Hayes: no more franchises set up 'on the backs' of workers

Other labor lawyers agreed that the decision will influence many Canadian companies outside the food industry. Toronto lawyer Mary Cornish said that the ruling will probably influence a similar case that she will be arguing before the board later this fall on behalf of the Food and Service Workers of Canada, a union that represents cleaning staff at Toronto's First Canadian Place, owned by Olympia and York Developments Ltd. Although the cleaners are employed by Federated Building Maintenance Ltd., Cornish will argue that Olympia and York is their true employer and should negotiate directly with the workers' union. Said Cornish: "In all these cases employers are attempting to evade their responsibilities in collective agreements."

The true test of the ruling's power to influence labor relations outside Ontario will come later this fall when a New Brunswick labor relations board mediates a similar dispute between Mr. Grocer and the RWDSU. Despite the fact that the provincial labor code lacks the "related employer" clause on which Hayes based his case, union lawyer David Brown of St. John is confident that the tide has turned in his favor. Said Brown: "The New Brunswick board is very sympathetic with well-reasoned decisions out of Ontario. We think that the Ontario ruling will have a substantial impact in our favor."

—ROBERT BLOCK *in Toronto.*

A last-minute rescue



McClelland: government aid and new investors

Employees of McClelland and Stewart (M&S) drank sparkling wine in back of the warehouse of the company's run-down Toronto headquarters last week to celebrate the miracle that their chairman, publisher Jack McClelland, had apparently performed. McClelland, $5 million in debt with annual interest at about $600,000, had faced bankruptcy or possible loss of control of the firm. Already, the publishing of the company's annual fall offerings has been delayed because M&S could not pay its bills. But the uncertainty about the company's future evaporated when the Ontario government awarded M&S an unprecedented aid package amounting to $2.5 million. As well, McClelland succeeded in attracting $1.1 million from about 30 private investors, including several M&S authors. Under McClelland's direction, the group will control 30 per cent of the company's equity.

But there was no champagne for McClelland himself. He was suffering from an abscessed tooth, a painful symbol of the most tortuous period of his life. Said M&S author Farley Mowat: "For the past three weeks it was like listening to someone in the last throes of cancer who will not admit it. Now he has had a remission—I am grateful as hell about that." McClelland himself remained silent about the turbulent period, which began in early summer with his attempt to raise private investment for his ailing company. He issued only a written statement of thanks to supporters before going into 10 days of seclusion. But relief about the reprieve spread far and wide. "M&S is a flagship," said Mowat. "Without it, the bulk of Canadian writers would suffer." Indeed, with annual sales of $10 million and a record of risk-taking in Canadian literary and historical publishing, the 78-year-old company has a dominant place in Canadian letters.

The company's financial problems began to emerge in 1968 when its founder, McClelland's father, John, died at 91, leaving behind a reported loss of $123,533. Three years later, in 1971, McClelland put the company up for sale. In a fervid Canadian nationalist climate, the Ontario government set up a royal commission on publishing and eventually bailed M&S out with an interest-free loan of $1 million. Still, McClelland's troubles were just beginning, and by the early 1980s other publishers had begun to suffer as well. Rising costs and market slumps closed Fleet Publishers and Clarke, Irwin, but the demise of M&S would have been the harshest blow yet to the reading and writing community.

Much of that community's faith returned to McClelland last week in the form of a ground swell of support as the deadline approached for the Ontario cabinet to decide on McClelland's bid for aid. The Ontario Development Corp. had already given $3 million in aid to M&S since 1971; the ODC's chief executive officer, Andrew Croll, demanded to know how other Ontario publishers (who had received an average of $150,000 each in government aid in the same period) would feel if the cabinet added to its M&S support. In response, a fearful publishing community rallied to M&S's defence. The Association of Canadian Publishers, the Canadian Book Publishers Council and the Writers Union of Canada all sent letters to Premier William Davis and key ministers. Said James Lorimer, president of the Toronto-based James Lorimer & Co.: "Everyone in publishing believes that M&S is the preeminent publisher in Canada. It is very important to allow it to reorganize and get itself on a firm financial footing."

The Ontario cabinet granted both those requests as it turned down an earlier ODC suggestion that the government should have equity in the company in return for forgiving loans. Instead, the cabinet gave the publisher an outright grant of $1.5 million, a release from a previous $1-million ODC loan and a new $500,000 credit line. In return for the deal, McClelland promised never to ask for more provincial aid.

McClelland now must report to his new minority investors. The group includes M&S authors Mowat, Pierre Berton, Margaret Atwood and Peter C. Newman, as well as former Liberal minister of state for finance Roy MacLaren, part-owner of *Canadian Business* magazine, and partners Michael de Pencier (president of the Toronto group Key Publishers Inc.) and journalist Alexander Ross. Said Ross, who personally owns $10,000 of CB Media Ltd.'s $75,000 share: "We can say we did our bit for Canadian Lit, but no one ever accused Jack of being a great manager."

Although the deal has ensured M&S's short-term future, deep philosophical divisions remain in the industry about the propriety of government-sponsored publishing. Said Mowat: "There is no long-term cure. Eventually, everything will be owned by conglomerates and run by accountants." As impresario McClelland himself has been warning his readers for years, Canadian publishing is a delicate and perishable commodity.

—DAWN MACDONALD

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1 **The Fourth Protocol,** *Forsyth (2)*
2 **First Among Equals,** *Archer (1)*
3 **The Aquitaine Progression,** *Ludlum (3)*
4 **The Bay,** *Uris (4)*
5 **The Mikado,** *Lustbader (5)*
6 **Tough Guys Don't Dance,** *Mailer (6)*
7 **...And Ladies of the Club,** *Santmyer (7)*
8 **Full Circle,** *Steele (8)*
9 **Lincoln,** *Vidal (9)*
10 **Heretics of Dune,** *Herbert (10)*

Nonfiction

1 **In God's Name,** *Yallop (1)*
2 **Loving Each Other,** *Buscaglia (4)*
3 **The Promised Land,** *Berton (5)*
4 **Vengeance,** *Jonas (2)*
5 **Eat to Win,** *Haas (3)*
6 **What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School,** *McCormack (8)*
7 **Wired: The Short Life and Fast Times of John Belushi,** *Woodward (7)*
8 **The Year of Armageddon,** *Thomas and Morgan-Witts*
9 **Sex and Destiny,** *Greer (6)*
10 **The March of Folly,** *Tuchman (10)*

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GUEST COLUMN

A flawed new fetish for America



By Stephen Lewis

The Life of Brian hardly needs a sequel. What do you do for an encore after the Pope, Ronald Reagan and the Queen in the first 10 days? It was, when you think of it, a quite remarkable symmetry: realpolitik sandwiched between theology and symbolism. But it had another aspect even more telling—Rome and London came to Ottawa. The Prime Minister went to Washington.

That, alas, is the way things are, and —if the Tories have anything to say about it—the way things will ever be.

Some observers have spoken disparagingly about the trip to Washington. They say that Mulroney acted with indecent haste, grovelling reverentially to the White House. Others are faintly euphoric, arguing that the restoration of continental unity is once again in sight. For my own part, I think that both views are right, and the implications are not pleasing.

Reagan did very nicely in the exchange. He offered absolutely nothing and received, in reply, all that Canada could provide. We gave a neighborly boost to his re-election campaign, we announced the metamorphosis of FIRA, and we promised the imminent emasculation of the National Energy Program.

Every single aspect works to the advantage of Reagan's America. There was barely a mention of fisheries, forests or acid rain. This was a classic meeting between David and Goliath in which David sheathed his slingshot at the border.

Now let it be said immediately that there are a lot of Canadians happy about that. They feel that the only route to economic recovery lies in harness to the United States. They feel certain that we can't raise significant capital internally, and if we are ever to diminish unemployment, then economic nationalism must go. Such people don't embrace *all* of Reagan ideologically but they feel pretty comfortable with free enterprise, market forces and multinational depredations.

The problem, however, is that this essentially Tory vision of the future is based on false premises. There is absolutely no guarantee that the present buoyancy of the U.S. economy will last; indeed, it contains within itself a nasty contradiction. The rate of economic growth is linked, inextricably, to the astronomic expenditures on armaments, and the expenditures on armaments in turn generate an astronomic national debt. At some point, sooner than later, something's got to give, and when it does our shackled satellite economy will give with it.

What is more, the free trade enthusiasts are living in a world of illusion. It's



Mulroney: what will he do for an encore?

pure theoretical hokum to believe that all the barriers will come down. The Americans just aren't interested. They're in the midst of an orgy of protectionism. And in any event who's to say that free trade, sectoral or otherwise, will be of benefit to Canada? There's nothing to suggest that future trade arrangements will *guarantee* jobs for this country. We're well past the negotiation of the auto pact. Those days are long gone.

Our new fetish for America is flawed. More fundamental, perhaps, it's wrongheaded. What we're really doing, all over again, is cementing a partnership of deference. And there's no mystery about who will defer to whom.

The Canadian nationalists who protest this turn of events are not Pavlovian xenophobes. They just understand that the more we cozy up to the White House, the more our political independence is compromised. It's always been fragile at the best of times, but this new rhapsodic embrace augurs poorly for the future.

Yet this is precisely the moment when Canada's voice must be heard. It's not simply a question of interest rates or the slavish importation of television and cinematic violence or the resolution of acid rain. It is, above and beyond all of the usual controversies, a question of survival.

U.S. arms policy is increasingly berserk, witness the recent proposal to spend $70 billion to build 16 Trident submarines, each carrying 24 nuclear missiles. U.S. foreign policy is increasingly unstable; witness Central America and Lebanon. It's not enough to reply that the Kremlin is a mirror of the Pentagon or that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is as stubborn as U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. There must be a role for a country like Canada—a role more substantial than quixotic peace initiatives rooted in political opportunism.

But if we are to assume that role, then it has to be done with an unequivocal strength and authority. We'll never get the Americans to pay attention—let alone anyone else—if they know, and the world knows, that within our velvet glove there lies no fist at all.

In the late 1960s, when Canadian nationalism was at its height, our preoccupation was with the halls of academe, branch-plant closures and the multinational drain on dividends and profits. All of those concerns remain alive. But they are all dwarfed, 15 years later, by the insistent spectre of Armageddon.

Everyone remarked on how visibly nervous Brian Mulroney was in the public presence of the president. No wonder. We're beholden, anxious and fettered. It doesn't make for much of a voice in world affairs.

Stephen Lewis, the former Ontario New Democratic Party leader, is a Toronto-based labor arbitrator. Allan Fotheringham is on vacation.





The difference is pure smoothness.